

THE  
**Character**  
OF A  
PAPIST in MASQUERADE;  
Supported  
By Authority and Experience.  
In Answer to the  
**CHARACTER**  
OF A  
POPISH SUCCESSOR.

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By *Roger L'Estrange.*

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**LONDON,**  
Printed for H. Brome at the Signe of the Gun in  
St. Pauls Church-yard. 1681.



Subscription fund

CHARACTER

FOR THE SUCCESSION

By Roger L. M. M. M.

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## The CHARACTER of a Papist in Masquerade.

**T**He Character of a Popish Successor were an excellent Piece in the kinde, if it had not too much *Sublimate* in it; For I have heard of some people, that, with only holding their Noses over it, but one quarter of an hour, have run stark mad upon't: And when This Fume has once taken the Brain, there's nothing in the world, but the *Powder of Experience*, (the Remembrance of things past) to set a man Right again. The Truth of it is, the Author has made the *Figure* of his Successor too Frightful, and enormous; Sawcer-ey'd and Cloven footed; and when he has painted the Monster as black on the *One* side, as Ink and Words can make him; he finishes his *Master-Piece* with a *Paradox*, on the *Other*; (*Fol. 4.*) by the Supposal of a most Excellent Person, and yet making him the greater *Devil* for his *Virtues*.

*His Fortitude* (he says) makes him only the more *Daring* in the Cause of Rome; his *Justice* makes it a Point of Conscience to deliver us up to the Pope; his *Temperance*, in the Government of his Passions, makes him the more close and steady; and his *Prudence* crowns the Work, by the assistance it gives him in the *Menage* of his Policies and Conduct: And so he goes on. What boost it (says he) in a Popish Heir, to say, he's the Truest Friend, the Greatest of Heroes, the best of Masters, the Justest Judge, or the Honestest of Men? All meer treacherous Quick sands for a people to repose the least glimpse of Safety in, or build the least hopes upon.

This is fairly pull'd, I must confess, but 'tis only a cast of his *Rhetorique*: For every body knows, that all Christian Princes thus Qualify'd, and under Articles of Treaty and Agreement, keep touch, even with Infidels; nay, and Infidels with Christians.

Before I go any further, let me recommend to the Reader, one Remark, as a thing worthy of his Attention: He cuts all the way upon the Successor, as presupposing him to be a Papist, and consequently Dangerous, and Insufferable, by reason of That Perswasion. And very magisterial he gives us his own bare word for the dangers of that Perswasion. Why does he not rather tell us in express and particular Terms, These and These are the Principles of the Church of Rome? and then make his Inference, from those Principles to

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the Dangers that attend them ; and so leave the unbiass'd part of the world to judge of the *Congruity* and *Proportion* betwixt such *Causes* and such *Effects* ? For His dilating himself thus at random upon his Character, and striking so *point-blank* at the *Rescinding* of the *Succession*, makes men apt to imagine, that his Pique may berather to the *Person*, then the *Religion*.

It will behove me, in this place, to inform the Reader, that I do not charge him for not producing the dangerous *Principles* of the *Papists*; as if I thought there were no *Instances* of that Quality to be given : ( For I am better acquainted with their *Ecclesiastical Politiques*, then so. ) But the true Intent of my *Quare* upon that *Objection*, was to shew the Authours *Prudence* in relerving himself upon those Particulars : For if he had said, *Behold ! These are the Positions of the Church of Rome, and they are not to be endur'd in any Government ;* I should have ask'd him presently, *How comes it then that you your self, under the Colour of Rooting out Popery One way, are Planting it Another ; and Erecting the very same Pestilent Positions that you condemn ? Inasmuch, that while you would be thought zealous to Abolish the Name of Popery, you are no lesse zealous to Establish the Doctrine of it ;* Whereof, at leisure.

The suddain bolting out of this *Phantôme* from behinde the Hanging, may so far serve a present turn, as to startle, and surprise the undiscerning Vulgar : Yet, when, upon Second. and Recollected thoughts, this *Mormo* shall come to be examin'd, and taken to pieces; the very *multitude* themselves, that were affrighted at the *Apparition*, will be asham'd of the *Imposture*. The thing that I would say, is this ; that the *Truth* is somewhat too much *Hyperboliz'd*, in a Declamatory Torrent of Words, and Exuberance of Phansy, without any one Concluding and Convincing Period. If *Apollo* had been of *Counsell* with the Authour, he would have advis'd him to the Moderating of his *Character*, as he does *Olaus Magnus*, in *Boccalini*, to moderate the Greatness of his *Northern Eagles*, that prey'd upon *Elephants* ; as being a very Extraordinary thing for a *Bird* to trusse an *Elephant*, and fly away with him. ( which is, perhaps, the more Venial Excess of the two. ) It is one of the greatest Indignities that can be put upon the simplicity of a *Just Truth*, the dawbing of it with Embrodery and Flourish, and the over-doing of it. If Little *Epictetus* had been at his Elbow, he would have minded him, that *some things are in our own Power, and others are not so* ; and that the subject matter of his Discourse being wholly out of His Cognizance, he might have done well to have left the business

business of the *Succession to the Ordering of Gods Providence.*

This is a Subject (I know) that whoever touches upon it, treads upon *Burning Coals*; and there must be great *Caution*, as well as *Innocence*, to carry a man through this *Ordeal*: For who shall dare to Dispute the danger of a *Popish Successor*? But so far am I from undertaking that Province, that I'll compound the matter with him beforehand; and take all his suppositions of Difficulties and Hazards in the Case, for Granted. But then I must distinguish betwixt the unhappy circumstance of being under the Allegiance of a Prince of that Persuasion, who is actually in the *Possession and Exercise* of his Power, and the remote *Possibility* only of that Danger; and a *Possibility* too of such a condition, as a thousand things may intervene, to prevent it: As the Contingences of *Issue, Survivorship, &c.* and at the Worst, this dismal apprehension amounts, at last, but to the Contemplation of a Prince of *That Communion*, in a *Parenthe-sis*, betwixt a *Predecessor*, and a *Successor*, of the *Reformed Religion*.

Nor but that I am as much against the Principles, and Practises of the Church of *Rome*, wherein the Church of *England* hath departed from that Communion, as any man living, that keeps himself within the compass of *Christian Charity, Humanity, and good Manners*. And so far, I shall heartily joyn with the Compiler of the *Character*, by a previous Concession of the Inconveniences (as I have said already) that may arrive, by reason of that Religion. But then I must take this Consideration along with me

That *First*; there are many *Dreadfull Dangers*, which we cannot avoid, but by incurring *Greater*. As the Leaping of a Garret-window, when the Fire has taken the Stair-Case; which is only a prudent Election (under a Calamitous Necessity) of the less evil of the Two. Now the same Action, which would have been a madness *Without* that necessity, becomes an Act of *Prudence, With* it; the great danger of the *Leap* being warranted by the greater danger of the *Fire*: And there must likewise precede a Deliberation upon the difficulties *Both* ways, to justify the Resolution: For otherwise at the best, a man does well but by chance. Now it would have been fair play, in the *Character-writer*, if he had candidly Ballanc'd the matter, and told us, *This* is the danger *One* way, and *That Another*.

*Secondly*, It happens, many times, that we have no other Choice before us, but either to suffer the Highest Degree of Misery, that can befall us in this world; or else, to Prostitute our *Souls*, for the saving of our *Skins*, and *Fortunes*. Now under such an Exigent as *This*, let the Prospect of things be never so Terrible, we are to oppose,

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oppose, the Duties of *Christians*, of *Subjects*, and of *Honest men*, to all hazards whatsoever; and patiently to endure whatever we cannot, with *Conscience*, and *Honour*, either *Resist*, or *Decline*: according to the Practice of the *Primitive Martyrs*, who witnessed their *Profession* with their *Bloud*, as *Christians*; and Submitted, as *Loyal Subjects*, without *Resistance*. So that we are not to govern our selves by a Naked Speculation of the Perils that we are to encounter, and the Means of avoiding them; without enquiring into the Consistency of those means with the Measures of *Conscience* and *Duty*. But there is one *Main point* yet behind; which is in effect the very *Hinge* of the Controversie. And this is it. If there shall be any thing found in this *Character of a Popish Successour*, that shall either operate upon the Legal Constitution of the *English Monarchy*, or Reflect *Personally* upon the *Honour*, or *Justice* of his *Majesty* now in Being; the Pretext of the *Succession* will be look'd upon only as a *Scaling-Horse* to Countenance an approach to some further Design: In which Case, the *Question* will not be any longer the *Religion* of a *Successour*, but the very *Right* it self of *Kingly Power*. And here I must expound myself once again; that I Speak only to the *Anonymous Character of a Popish Successour*, without the least Reference to any *Publique*, and *Authoritative Debates*, or *Counsels*. And so I shall proceed, (in the First place) to the *Character of a Papist in Masquerade*.

The Church of *England*, and the *Members* of it, are beset with two Sorts of *Papists*; the *One*, *bare-Fac'd*, the *Other* dress'd up in several shapes of *Disguise*: And we pass for *Heretiques*, on the *One* hand; and *Papists in Masquerade*, on the *Other*. By this Opposite Conjunction of two Interests, (which, (however Divided in *Name*, and *Pretense*) are yet United against us in a Common Principle of *Contradiction* and *Aversion*;) The Church of *England* is both *Weaken'd*, and *Defam'd*; the *Glory* of the *Reformation* blasted; and the great Support of the truly *Apostolical Cause*, *Undermined*. Betwixt These Two Enemies, our Persecuted Church is crush'd almost to Pieces; and well-nigh brought to the Agony of her Last Convulsions. And this Calamity is not wrought so much by the *Bare-fac'd Papists*, that march Publicly under the *Popes Banner*, owning their Cause, and making their Attacks in View; not so much by These, (I say) as by the *Papists in Masquerade*, that work under-ground, like *Moles*; and, fall in upon our Quarters, under the Semblance of *Friends*, with our own *Word* and *Colours*. It has been a great part of the business of the *Press*, to set forth the *Bare-fac'd Papist* to the Life, and to affect us with

with a just Indignation for the Principles of the Jesuits: So that I shall not cloy the Reader with Redundances; especially since the Composer of the Character has been pleas'd to Harangue so copiously upon that Subject: But rather apply myself to the Counter-Part of these Jesuits; and to obviate the Practises of our False Friends, as well as of our Profess'd Enemies.

The Kings Witnesses have abundantly manifested to the World, the Restless Endeavours of Rome, and its Emissaries, for the Subversion of our Religion, and Government; and how far they contributed to the Rebellion of Forty One; and to the carrying of it forward thorough all the succeeding changes, and Revolutions, even to the bringing of his Sacred Majesty to the Scaffold. They have further also Deposed to the Contrivances of the same Party, for the prosecuting of the same Design upon the Person of his Sacred Majesty that now is; and upon our Government and Religion, as by Law establish'd: And laid open to the world, both the Method of their Proceedings, by masquing themselves under the Appearance of Presbyterians, Independents, Quakers, Millenaries, and the like; as also the very Names of several of their Missionaries, that have been expressly employ'd upon the disposing of the People to Tumult and Sedition.

This is so certain a Truth, that it will not bear a Dispute; beside that it stands with Reason too; for they do all cover themselves under an Alias; and a Presbyterian, an Independent, &c. alias a Papist, Sounds every jot as well, as Captain Williams, alias Captain Bedloe. I am not willing to charge my Paper, in a Case so Clear, and Confess'd, with unnecessary Instances: Wherefore I shall content myself with only Two out of many. (the former out of Ravillac Redivivus (Pag. 41.) If Father Brown the Jesuit, (says the Author) that Preach'd so many years among the Field-Conventiclers in Scotland, had Penn'd Mitchel's Justification of himself, upon his Execution, for an Attempt upon the Person of the Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews, it could not have savour'd stronger of the Society of Jesus, or become such an Anthour better than it doth. This same Brown boasted upon his Death-bed, at Ingelston briggs, that he had Preach'd as Down-right Popery in the Field Conventicles, as ever he had Preach'd in Rome it self. The Other Instance is, of one Faithfull Commion, a Dominican Friar in the 9th. of Queen Elizabeth; who was a Person generally repus'd a Zealous Protestant, and much admir'd and follow'd by the People, for his seeming Piety; but more particularly, for inveighing in his Pulpit



*Pulpit against Pius Quintus Then Pope. He was accused upon Oath, before the Queen and Council for an Impostor, and a Sower of Sedition; and Arch Bishop Parker took his Examination, (Foxes and Fire-brands, Pa. 7.)* Commin insisting much upon his Bitterness exprest against the Pope, for his Justification. He got out of England afterwards by a Trick; and, with one Farewell Sermon, 130 l. for a Viaticum. Not long after, he was clapt up at Rome for Reviling the Pope, and the Catholique Church. But he Pleaded for himself, that he had done his Holiness, and the Church considerable Service; for, by Preaching against Set-Forms of Prayer, and calling the English Prayers, English Masse, he put them upon the Humour of Extemporary Prayer; which took so much with the People, that they were come to hate the Church of England as much as the Church is self-hated the Mass. Whereupon, the Pope gave him a Reward of Two Thousand Ducats for his Pains.

The matter of Fact is sufficiently clear'd, and the Practise too Notorious to be deny'd; As to the Influence that these Papists have (under the notion of *Dissenting Protestants*) upon the Unity of the Church, and the Peace of the State. But the Craft (as they say) lyes in the Catching of them: For the Test of Oaths will never do the Business, as we have found by their Swearing to so many Contrary, and Inconsistent Purposes, and Interests, throughout the whole Course of our Late Troubles.

So that we have no other way left that I can Imagine, of knowing a *Disguised Jesuit* from one that calls himself a *Dissenting Protestant*, but by comparing their *Principles*; which would infinitely conduce to the Credit, and Advantage of the Conscientious sort of the Divided Party. And without such a Test of Discrimination the Project of Uniting Dissenters seems to be utterly Impracticable; unless to the Extream Hazzard of Authorizing the most pernicious sort of *Papery*, and Incorporating a *Jesuitical Leaven* into our very Constitution; according to the Method which Mr. Coleman himself had projected, as the most probable Expedient for the Introducing of *Papery* into this Kingdom. The Removal of this Difficulty will open a way to a General Accomodation; to the Common Security both of our Religion, and Governments. And this is only to be done by applying the *Maxims* of those that we suspect here for *Jesuits*, to the Standard of those Detestable *Principles* which we so much abominate in the Church of Rome. And where ever we find any Party, of what Denomination soever, that pretends either to Erect an Interest, or to support a Claim, upon the same Foundation; it is but matter of Common Equity, to presume, and to conclude

clude that Party to be acted and directed by a Jesuitical Spirit. These Positions I shall Confront with a Counter-Part; of which further in its proper place. But in my way to't, I shall now pass to the Character it self.

## The CHARACTER, &c.

Character. **I**T has been my Fortune to be a Subject and a Native of that part of the World, where almost three years last past I have scarce heard any thing, but the continual Noise of Popery and Plots; with all the clamorous Fears of a Jealous Kingdom about my Wars: And truly, I must plainly confess, I am not so ill a Common-Wealths-man, but that I am glad to see my Country-men disturb'd in a Cause, where Religion, Liberty, and Property, are at Stake. Fol. 1.

Here's the very Bourdon already of that Fatal Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom, Dec. 15. 42. and only a short Paraphrase of the Preface to it. God bless us from the Omen. *The malicious Designs of the Popish Party, the hazard of Religion and great prejudices and Oppression of the Laws of the Kingdom, and just Liberty of the People.* Exact Collections Pag. 2. That which follow'd upon this Popular Introduction did sufficiently evidence the Design. You shall see now how Pat this Prologue runs Another way; *Mutatis Mutandis.*

It has been my Fortune (*les Me saytoo*) to be a Subject, and a Native where the Noise of Popery and Plots, Jealousies and Fears, and Affrights about Religion, Liberty and Property, as if All lay at Stake, brought a pious and a Protestant Prince to the Block, prostituted the Honour, Dignity, and Revenue of the Government, Ecclesiastical and Civil, to a Band of Seditious and Sacrilegious Usurpers. Our Temples were Demolish'd; our Altars Profan'd; the Priestly Office invaded by Mechanics; Swarms of Heresies, and a Scandalous Schism, in Exchange for Purity and Unity of Religion. Of a Free-born People we became worse then Turkish Slaves; Our Common-Wealths-men were glad also to see us Disturb'd; and who but our Pretended Advocates, and Patriots, to be our Tyrants, and Tormemors?

Char. But if their Jealousies are Just and their Fears Prophetique, in Gods name let them talk. Every man ought to be so far from silencing



ciny any Reasonable Murmurs, that 'tis rather his Duty to bear a Part in a Choir so Universal. And if we see the Great and Wise-men of our Nation, like True English Patriots, struggling, and toying to prevent our Threatning Calamities, let us take delight to behold them Restless, and Uneasie; Rolling about our Troubled Sealike Porpoises against a Tempest, to forewarn us of an Approaching Destruction. Ibid.

Let them talk on; (says he) just to the Tune of Forty Two again. God forbid (says Mr. Pym) that We should dishearten our Friends, who come to assist us. And this was, when Ven and Marwarling forc'd the Passing of the Bill of Attainder in the Lords House, by Tumults, against the Earl of Strafford; and his Sacred Majesty little better then Besieg'd in his own Palace, by the Rabble. What a blessed Harmony was there then among the Porters, Car-men, and Well affected Brethren in the Lobbies, crying out with one Voice, no Bishops; no Rotten Peers; no Common-Prayer; while the great and wise men, in their Generation were Struggling, and Toying, to Pack Parties, Contrive Invectives against Authority; perplexing the Multitude with Scruples, enflaming of Passions, and rolling about like State Porpoises, not as a Forewarning, but the Foreboding of a Tempest.

Char. But amidst our Evident Danger, we see another sort of People, daily flattering and deluding us into a False and Fatal Security. And sure none are so kill'd our Friends, or indeed so void even of Humanity itself, as those who would lull us asleep when Ruine is in View. Ibid.

There are some indeed, that after Open Rebellions in Scotland, horrid Assassins, Anathema's Denounc'd against his Majesty, Declarations point blank against his Person and Government; with an Indissoluble Confederacy of Brotherly Union in our own Bowels too, by virtue of that Magical Seal of Reprobation, the Diabolical Covenant; there are some I say, that after all these Acts and Demonstrations of Violence, and Conspiracy, will yet bear the World down that the believing of our eyes is the shamming of the Plot; and that there's no Fear at all of a Storm from that Quarter. As if a Jesuitical Practice or Principle, were Consecrated in the Heart, or Shape of a Presbyterian.

But (says he) since Zeal and Hypocrisy, Naked Truth, and Artificial Falshood, have oftentimes alike Faces; I cannot but think it the Duty both of a Christian, and an English-man, to unravel the Treachery of those Arguments which they raise to destroy us.

But

But since *Zeal*, and *Hypocrisie*, &c. are so alike, that we have seen *Sacrilege*, and *Heresy* pass upon the People for *Reformation*; *Rebellion* for *Loyalty*; *Perjury*, *Blasphemy*, and *Murder*, for *Religion*; *Regicide* for the way to make a *Glorious King*; *Bondage* for *Freedom*; *Rapine* for *Propriety*; the King's, the Churches, and the Peoples *Enemies*, for their *Friends*: what can a man do better then to Unmask this white Devil, and expose the Cloven-Foot of this Angel of Light to the View of the Nation?

Char. *As First*, ( Says my Authour ) *why should we stand in fear of Popery, when in the present Temper of England it is impossible for any Successor whatever to introduce it.*

And First, ( say I too ) what fear of *Phanaticism*, and a *Commonwealth*, under the present Settlement of *Episcopacy* and *Kingly Government*?

Char. *And next, amidst our groundless Fears*, (says the Author of the Character, by way of supposal) *let us consider what that Prince is that appears so dreadful a Gorgon to England. A Prince that upon all Accounts has so Signally ventur'd his Life for his King and Country; a Heroe of that faithful, and matchless Courage, and Loyalty: A Prince of that Unshaken Honour and Resolution, that his Word has ever been known to be his Oath, and his Friendship a Bulwark wherever he vouchsafes to place it; with such an infinite Mass of all the Bravery and Gallantry that can adorn a Prince. Why must the Change of his Religion destroy his Humanity; or the advance to a Crown, render his Word or Honour less Sacred; or make him a Tyrant to that very people whom he hath so often, and so cheerfully Defended? Why may there not be a Popish King with all these Accomplishments; that whatever his own Private Devotions shall be, yet shall Publicly maintain the Protestant Worship, with all the Present Constitution of Government, Unalter'd?*

And next, (say I) let us consider those *Covenanting*, and *Republican* Spirits that appear so dreadful to us; a Party that so signally ventur'd their Lives for the King's Authority in the Two Houses against his Person in the Field; nay of that matchless Courage and Loyalty, that they hazarded their Souls, as well as their Bodies, to make him a *Glorious Prince*, by sending him to Heaven before his time: A Party of that *unshaken Honour*, and *Resolution*, that their words were *Oracles*, their *Protestations*, *Oaths*, and *Covenants* ever bearing a dou-

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ble and an equivocal meaning; their Friendship a Bulwark, only the Guns were turn'd upon all that ever Trusted them: And of so great Bravery, that they charged thorough Heaven and Hell; without Fear either of God or Devil; and trampled under foot all Laws both Divine and Humane, for the Accomplishing of their Ends. 'Tis true, that of *Papal*, they are become *Phanatical Jesuits*, and why should the Change of their *Profession*, now, destroy their *Nature*? Or their word and Honour be lesse Sacred, if they get the Power into their Hands once again, then we have formerly found it? They eas'd us of our Laws, Lives, Liberties, and Estates; and why should they become Tyrants Now, that were so Mercysfull to us before? Why may they not be such *Covenanters* and *Common-wealths-men*, as, whatever they be in Private, will yet in Publique maintain the *Monarchy*, and *Episcopacy*, unalter'd? Especially after that famous Instance of their Indulgence to his Majesty at *Holdenby*, when they kept him a Prisoner, without Allowing him the Benefit so much as of a Chaplain or a Common-Prayer-Book. And now he proceeds.

*Char. But alas! what signifie all the great past Actions of a Princes Life, when Popery has at last got the Ascendent? All Virtues must truckle to Religion; and how little an Impression will all his Recorded Glories leave behind them, when Rome has once Stamp'd him Her Profelyte? But since unlikely things may come to passe, let us seriously examine how far the Notion of such a Popish Successour consists with Reason. (Fol. 2.)*

Alas, Alas! What are the *Good-Old-Cause-men* the better for their Crown and Church-Lands, Sequestrations, Plunders, Decimations, Directories, Classical & Congregational Presbyterys, when Monarchy and Episcopacy have at last got the Ascendent? All Virtues must Truckle to Religion; as they did, when Rebellion, Sacriledge, Oppression, and Murther, were hallow'd and Authorized in the Pulpit, for the Propagation of the Gospel. But since unlikely things may come to pass, let us see how far the Notion of a *Phanatical Popery* consists with the Discipline and Government by Law establish'd.

*Char. (Fol. 2.) If to maintain, and defend our Religion be any more then a Name; it is impossible for any man to act the true Defensive Part, without the Offensive too: And he that would effectually uphold the Protestant Worship, Peace and Interest, is bound to suppress all those potent and dangerous Enemies that would destroy them; for all other Defense is but Disguise, and Counterfeit:*

The

The States-men of *Forty One* that defended the *Protestant* Religion with Sword and Cannon; and our Liberties, Properties, and Persons, at the same rate; were extreamly well read in this Offensive way of Defence. And our Authour is much in the Right, that the way to uphold it, is to suppress those that would destroy it. That is to say, to suppress those that enter into *Protestations, Oaths, and Covenants*, against *Episcopacy, Root and Branch*. All other Defence (as he says) is but Disguise and Counterfeit. The *Remonstrants* of *Forty Two* declar'd it to be far from Their purpose to let loose the golden Reins of Discipline, and Government in the Church; which was only a Political Cheat; (as it is here expounded) for our Churches were turn'd into Stables, our Clergy hunted like Partridges in the Mountains, our Pulpits stuff'd with Blasphemy, and Blew Aprons; and in the Conclusion, a hundred Heresies let loose among us, for one Orthodox Religion.

Char. Fol. 2. *If then the Wisdom of several Successive Monarchs, with the whole Nations Unanimous Prudence, and indefatigable Care for the Protestant Preservation, has determin'd that those Papist Priests who have sworn Fealty to the See of Rome, and taken Orders in Foreign Seminarys, are the greatest Seducers of the Kings liege People, and the most notorious Incendiaries, and Subverters of the Protestant Christianity and Loyalty; and for that Cause their several Laws declare them Traitors; by Consequence, these are the Potent and dangerous Enemies, which in defense of the Protestant Cause, this Popish King is oblig'd to suppress and Punish; and these the very Laws he is bound to Execute.* Fol. 2.

As the Wisdom of Successive Monarchs has provided for the *Protestant* Preservation, by necessary Severities against known Priests and Jesuits, on the One hand; so have they likewise on the Other hand, against Separatists of another Denomination, where we find the same Principles couch'd under other Names. And these are a kind of *Protestant Jesuit*. The Pope Deposes Heretical Princes; the Fanatique Deposes Popish; And as Ill manners produce Good Laws; the Lewd Practices on Both hands put the State upon Provisions that look both Ways. The Schism here among us brake loose but once since the Reformation. And what a Deluge of Hypocrisy, Bloodshed, Oppression, Atheism, and Prophaneness flow'd in upon it? But that we may not Cavil upon the Word *Protestant*; let the Law expound it; which does expressly provide for the securing of *Conforming Protestants* against the danger of *Dissenters*. So that we have Potent Enemies.

nemies (it seems) on both sides. Now if a Phanatique Interest should get Head, it is as improbable on this side, as it is on the Other; that they should agree to Suppress *Phanaticism*, in Favour of *Episcopacy*, and put the Laws in Execution against themselves. Or would they not rather fly us over again with Plunders, Imprisonments, Vows, Negative Oaths, Abjurations, as they did before?

Char. And though perhaps, till the Discovery of the late Plot, for several Ages, we have not seen that Severity insisted on Popish Priests, as the Laws against them require: And why? Because the flourishing Tranquillity of the English Church under this King, and his Fathers Reign, render'd them so inconsiderable an Adversary, that the natural Tenderness of the Protestant People of England not delighting in Blood, did not think it worth their while, either to detect, or prosecute them; and therefore has not made them the Common mark of Justice. Fol. 2.

'Tis True, that, till the Discovery of the Late Plot, the Laws against Priests and Jesuits have not been put in Execution to the utmost Rigour. But he is much mistaken certainly in the Reasons he gives for that Lenity, and Moderation. Does he call it the *Tranquillity of the English Church*, &c. when for eighteen years together the very Form, Discipline, and members of it suffer'd a more than Pagan Persecution? And then, does he make the Popish Party so Inconsiderable, that was able to move such Broyls and Confusions; (which the Kings Wittnesses declare with one mouth to have been the work of the *Jesuits*.) and Finally, to accomplish their Devilish End in the Blood of the best of Kings, and the most Faithfull of Subjects; the ensnaring of the freest and the Happiest of People; and the total Subversion of a most glorious Church and State? And we are now again at this Instant upon the very Steps of the Preface to our Late Troubles, and in a fair way to that blessed Condition of *Tranquillity*, whereupon the Penner of the Character passes so notable a Remark. This was the *Tenderness*; and the *Protestant People* hespeaks of, were the Instruments of our Desolation. Which, (as the Oracles of our Age, do abundantly enform us) were only Jesuits of another Colour. It is worth a note, that still as the barefac'd Papist has attack'd us one way, the Papist in Disguise falls to Sapping and undermining of us Another; and both of them equally contributing to our Destruction.

Char. But under the Reign of an English Papist, when the Fraterni-



ty of Religion shall encourage the Pope to make his working Emissaries ten times more Numerous; when, if not the hope of publique Patronage, yet at least their Confidence of Private Indulgence, Connivence, and Mercy, emboldens the Missive Obedience of his Jesuitical Instruments, whilst the very name of a Popish Monarch has the Influence of the Sun in Egypt, and daily warms our Mud into Monsters; till they are become our most threatening and most formidable Enemys. And if ever the Protestant Religion wanted a Defender, tis then. If the Word, Honour, or Coronation Oath of a King be more than a Name, 'tis Then, or never, he is oblig'd to uphold the Protestant Interest, and actually suppress its most apparent and most notorious Enemies. Ibid.

I do here make this publique Profession to the world, that I have as little minde to be under the Reign of an *English Papist*, as any mortal; and I would do all that I could justify, as a Christian, and an Honest man, to avoid it. But since so it is, that I can no more chuse my Governour then my Father, and that I may as well renounce the *One*, upon the score of Religion, as the *Other*; I am resolv'd to pay the Duty of a Subject to what Prince soever Almighty God, in his Over-ruling Providence, shall be pleas'd to set over me; and, at the worst, patiently to suffer, where I cannot conscientiously Obey. It is a remarkable Chapter, that of the Prophet *Jeremy*, where God doth not only stile *Nebuchadnezzar* (the King of *Babylon*) his *Servant*, but over and over inculcates Obedience to him. *Hearken not you* (says the Text, v. 9. & 10.) *to your Prophets, nor to your Diviners, nor to your Dreamers, nor to your Inchanters, nor to your Sorcerers, which speak unto you, saying, you shall not serve the King of Babylon; For they prophesie a Lye unto you: to remove you from your Land, and that I should drive you out, and you should perish. And then, v. 15. I have not sent them, saith the Lord, yet they prophesie a Lye in my Name, &c.*

Now to proceed. I shall not dispute the Consequences of his Supposition, the *One* way, if he will but allow the same Consequences to lye as fair for my purpose, the *Other*. Will not a *Scottish Fraternity of Papists* endanger *England*, as well as a *Romish*? Have they not already given proof of their Conspiracy by their Actions? (But I hope God will preserve his Majesty from an *Axe*, on the *One* hand, as well as from a *Dagger*, on the *Other*.) And have not the *Kirk-Jesuits* their Emissaries, as well as the *Society*? See *The Spirit of Popery* (a Book written with great Judgement, Sobriety, and Caution; and Addressed to the *English Dissenters*) Fol. 7.

There

## The Character of a Papist

There was a Project of a Jesuitical Nature, attempted by some of your Principals, about four or five years ago, when some of your Ministers, and Others, Caball'd together about reducing the Presbyterians (whether over England only, or over all the Three Nations, I do not well remember) into the same sort of Policy by which the Jesuites are governed over all the World. The Nation was to be Divided into Districts or Provinces; every District was to have its Provincial; and over all the Provinces was to be appointed one General, to reside constantly (as I remember) in London; and the First who was to have the Honour of that Office (like the Founder of the Jesuites) had been a Soldier, and a great Malefactor, and is also fit to be a General of an Army, and presided in that Consult. He is a Gentleman whom you all know, and makes a great part of a late Narrative, wherein the Impudent Narrator implicitly calls you the most sober and considerable Protestants of the Land. The Provincials, in their several Districts, were to take an account of the Growth or Decay of the Party; to note their Friends and Enemies; to receive their Contributions, and give an Account of all to the General; who was to supervise for the good of the whole. This account, with which I am confident I do not surprize some of you, was told me upon condition of Secrecie, by a very honest and peaceable, but rigid Presbyterian Minister, our Countryman, who having got notice of the Consult, brake it in the beginning, by telling the Projectors how he abhorred it, and threatening to discover it, if they did not desist; [observe here, that this Presbyterian Minister, though a Rigid one, refused to joyn in so Jesuitical a Project.] He told me also, that he believed the Project came first from the Designed General, who intended by that means to raise his broken Fortunes; which, if he had accomplish'd, he might easily have done. And to do his Memory Justice, he told me this Story with very great Indignation; the Substance of which, as I shall answer for it to God at the day of Judgment) I have faithfully related (to the best of my memory) upon the Faith of a Christian man.

Now to follow his Point; will not the very Name of a Republican Reformation, which is at Present become the Theme of every Pamphlet, warm Our Mud into Minsters again; and raise Cobblers and Tinkers to Colonels; Draymen, and Thimble-makers to be Kings Judges? Wherefore Now or Never is his Majesty oblig'd, if his Word, Honour, or Coronation-Oath be more than a Name, (if I may be pardon'd for speaking my Authours words after him) to uphold the Protestant Interest, which now lyes a bleeding in this Cause of the Church; One Branch of the Coronation Oath being as follows.



**I will preserve and maintain to you** (the Bishops) and the Churches committed to your charge, all Canonical Priviledges, and due Law and Justice; and **I will be your Protector and Defender, to my Power, by the Assistance of God, as every good King in his Kingdom, n right ought to protect and defend the Bishops and Churches under the r Government.**

*Then the King ariseth and is led to the Communion Table, where he makes a Solemn Oath, in sight of all the People, to observe the Premises; and laying his hand upon the Book, saith,*

**The Oath.**

**The things which I have before promised, I shall perform and keep: So help me God, and the Contents of this Book.**

*Char. But let us suppose we may have such a Roman Catholique King, as shall discountenance Pope, and Popery; Cherish Protestantism, and effectually deterre and punish all those that shall endeavour to undermine and supplant it: And then let us examine what This King thus qualify'd must do. Fol. 2.*

Here is a Supposition fairly propounded, in appearance; but yet, without Expounding himself upon the Word *Protestantism*, there's no coming to an Issue upon't. If he means by *Protestantism* the Opinions of the Outliers that have leapt the pale, and which are rather *Phantasies*, then *Perswasions*; the Law it self animadvertes upon those people, as the Underminers of our Ecclesiastical Establishment; And his Discountenancing of *Separatists* will amount to no more then a Legal Discharge of his Office. But if by *Protestantism* he intends a practical Conformity to the Orders of the Church, the Law provides as well for the upholding of the *One*, as the suppressing of the

*Other.* And it would be a strange Oversight for any Prince that should mount the *English* Throne under the disadvantages of that Persuasion, to put his Perogative upon the stretch of *Enacting*, or *Abrogating* Laws, without the Consent of his *Parliament*.

*Char.* First then, in continuing the Ecclesiastique Jurisdiction, Honours and Preferments, in the hands of the Protestant Clergy; he must confer his Favours and Smiles, on those very men, whom (by the Fundamentals of his own Uncharitable Persuasion, which dooms all that dy out of the Bosom of the Romish Church, to a certain State of Damnation) he cordially believes, do preach and teach, and lead his Subjects in the direct way to Hell. And next, at the same time he must not only punish and persecute, but perhaps imprison and hang, those very only Righteous men, whom from the bottom of his Soul he believes can only open them the Gates of Paradise: whilst in so doing he cannot but accuse himself of copying the Old Jewish Guilty. Nay in one respect, he outgoes their Crime; for he acts that Knowingly, which they committed Ignorantly. For by the Dictates of Religion he must be Convinc'd, that in effect he does little lesse then save a Barabbas, and Crucify a Jesus. Fol. 3.

Here is First, presented a dismal Prospect of a Popish Successor, in the Life of a Protestant Prince; and the present Government of that Protestant Prince troubled and distracted with Clamours and Jealousies, for fear of a Popish one to come. If Religion were really the business, they would rather blesse God for the Peace and Happiness they enjoy; and wait his further Pleasure with Thankfulness, and Resignation, then with Murmuring, and Distrust, to anticipate future Evils, and Prejudge Providences to come. Or if Religion were all; what's the meaning of their hammering so much of late upon the Subject of *Arbitrary Power*; and so many Models and Projects of a *Common Wealth*; which were the very Method of our late Usurpers? as to matter of *Arbitrary Power*, the King has pass'd away so many Concessions already for the gratifying of his Subjects, that if he had it in his Will, his Majesty has not left it in his Power to be guilty of that which is so ungratefully Charg'd upon him. Which makes it look liker a mockery, then an Accusation.

And then for the New-fangled Device of a *Free Common Wealth*, our Republican Agitators should do well to mind the People of *England*, of the blessed condition they were in under the pretended *Keepers of our Liberties*. The Sound of Freedom, and Liberty brings the

the Multitude like Larks to the Glass, but not a word of the Net. They say nothing of the *Standing Army* that must be kept afoot to support it; nor of the bloody *Taxes* that must be rais'd to maintain those Troops, and *Martial Law* to make good all those Violences. Why do they not tell them of their *Charters, Franchises, Priviledges,* and *Tenures*, which are all swallow'd up in that Gulph of *Popular Tyranny*? And so are all other advantageous Dependences upon the Crown. The Body of the Law must be new garbled, and a Civil War, with all the Miseries and Contingences of it, must be the Prologue to the Opening of this Tragical Scene. And if the Sedition fails of successe, they bring themselves into the state again of a Conquer'd Nation. And upon these Terms it is at best, that they are to exchange a Condition of Peace, Freedom and plenty, for beggery, Bondage, and Confusion. It was very well sayd of *Grotius* upon the Netherlanders delivering themselves from the Yoke of Spain. *We Fought* (says he) *to save the Tenth part of our Estates; and now that we have got the day, we have Compounded for the other Nine.*

Here is a Criminal, and a Dangerous, but (I hope) an Impracticable Proposal set afoot; But brought in, God knows, by Head and shoulders, under the Countenance of Religion, and Succession. It is possible there may be no more in it then a Well-meaning mistake. But there must be an Infinite Tenderness of Conscience, and a most untainted Loyalty to justify the Author. But to return to my Character.

As to the Influence which a Popish Successour may have upon Ecclesiastical matters, (as in the Character) there needs no more to be sayd in't then this; that the King hath been graciously pleas'd to offer the Passing of any Bill for securing the Protestant Religion, without barring, or diverting the Succession. And such Expedients have been also fram'd to that effect, as have been by great Authority judg'd Competent for the Obviating of that Difficulty.

As to the Rest, I will not deny but that it is a hard thing for a Prince to teize and persecute a People of his own Religion, purely *eo nomine* for their being so: And it is very Probable too that he will connive at men of that Perswasion, in many Cases, where the Law directs a Punishment. And what is there more in this then what has been done already more or less from the Date of the Statutes themselves to This very day: and what is done by the Government it self toward the *Non-Conformists*, at this Instant? where is the great hurt now (upon this Admittance) in not punishing

the Papists; so long as the Protestants are not Persecuted? Where-as the Fanatical Papists did not only in defiance both of Law, and Gospel, engross all Offices, Benefits and Priviledges to themselves; but without Mercy or Distinction destroy'd the rest of their Brethren.

Char. A very pretty Chimæra! Which is as much as to make this Popish King the greatest Barbarian in the Creation; a Barbarian that shall cherish and maintain the Dissenters from Truth, and punish and condemn the Pillars of Christianity, and Proselytes of Heaven: Which is no other then to speak him the basest of Men, and little less than a Monster. Beside, at the same time that we suppose that King, that dares not uphold nor encourage his own Religion, we render him the most deplorable of Cowards; a Coward so abject, that he dares not be a Champion even for his God. And how consistent this is with the Glory of a Crowned Head, and what hope England has of such a Successour, I leave all men of sense to judge. Fol. 3.

Behold here's the upshot of this high-flown Paragraph. [A Popish Prince that puts the Laws in Execution for the punishing of Papists, and for the protecting and countenancing of Protestants, is little less then the basest of Monsters.] How comes it then that the Crown of France has not treated the Protestant Subjects there, as this Picture-drawer pronounces, that a Popish Successour would treat his Protestant Subjects here? The Protestants have now and then been severely handled I know in France; as the Papists, upon some Junctures have been in England; And now of late worse then usual, All which has been Influenc'd as well by Reasons of State, as by Impulse of Religion. But shall we Pronounce the most Christian King the greater Monster, for his better usage of us? If a potent Aversion to us in matter of Religion had transported the French King's into so mortal a Detestation of us to all other purposes, they would never have committed so many Eminent Charges, both in Counsell and in Arms, to the Honour and Trust of Protestant Officers and Commanders. But the Convenience and Utility of the State preponderated against Disagreements in Religion. The Barbarisms of the Holy League were the Results of a Sanguinary Faction as well in Civil Government, as Religion. And one Egg is not Likier another then the League of these Dissenting Papists to the Covenant of our Jesuical and Dissenting Pseudo-Protestants.

To come now to the Reason and Conscience of this Elaborate Paradox,

dox. Taking His Position for granted, that a Popish Prince is bound by his Religion, contrary to Oaths and Promises, Honour and Justice, the Dictates of Nature, the Laws of Nations, and the Bonds of Humane Society; contrary to all This (I say) and to his Interest also; to break Faith with Protestants; and those Protestants, his Subjects too. He must be unman'd, as well as Unchristian'd; an Excommunicate to Humane Nature, and excluded from all the Benefits and Offices of Mankind. And yet, we are not without many Instances, in the *French League*, and the *Scottish Covenant*, of an abandon'd Perfidy even to this degree. It must be a strange Digestion sure, that can put over all other Impieties, and turn the violation of all that is Sacred in Nature into a meritorious Virtue.

Char. Besides what mismatch'd incongruous Ingredients must go to make up this Composition a King! His Hand and Heart must be of no Kin to one another: He must be so Inhumane to those very darling Jesuits, that, like Mahomets Pidgeon, insus'd and whisper'd all his Heavenly Dreams into his Ears, that he must not only clip their wings, but fairly Cage 'em too; even for the Charming Oracles they breath'd him: And at the same Minute he must leave the wide and open Ayre to those very Ravens that daily croak Abhorrence, and Confusion to them, and all their Holy Dreams, and their false Oracles. Thus, whilst he acts quite contrary to all his Inclinations, against the whole Bent of his Soul, what does he but publike-ly put in force those Laws for the Protestant Service; till, in fine, for his Nations Peace he ruins his own, and is a whole Scene of War within himself: Whilst his Conscience accusing his sloth on one side, the Pope on the other, Rome's continuall Bulls bellowing against him as an unchristian Son of Holy Mother-Church, a Scandal to her Glory, a Traitor to her Interest; and a Deserter of her Cause; one day accusing the Lukewarmesse of his Religion; another, the Pusillanimity of his Nature; all Roman-Catholick Princes deriding the Feebleness of his Spirit; and the Tameness of his Arm; till, at long run, to spare a Fagot in Smithfield, he does little lesse then walk on hot Irons himself. Thus all the pleasure he relishes on a Throne is but a kind of Good-Friday-Entertainment: Instead of a Royall Festival, his Rioting in all the Luxury of his Heart, to see Rome's Dagon worshipp'd; Rome's Altars smoke; Rome's Standard set up; Rome's Enemies defeated, and his victorious Mother-Church Triumphant; his subject, and poor-spirited Submission denies himself the only thing he thirsts for: and whilst the Principles he sucks from Rome do in effect, in the Prophets Words,



Words, bid him Rise, Slay, and Eat; his fear, his unkingly, nay, unmanly fear makes him fast and starve. Fol. 3.

This Passage is only the same thing over again, in a diversity of Words and Phrase. But it is well enough to answer the Ends it was intended for; the tickling of the Phansy, and the moving of a Popular Passion, without one syllable of weight to strike the Judgement. My Reply upon the Last Paragraph shall serve for This too; which I have not here Recited, as requiring any Answer; but to shew what pains he has taken with the Ornaments of his Rhetorique, to supply the Defect of Argument. I cannot liken it to any thing better then the Gaudy Glittering Vapour that Children are used to Phansy in a Cloud. They'l Phantly *Lions, Peacocks*, in it, or what other Figures they Please; but the first Breath of Ayre scatters the Phantastique Images, and resolves the whole into its original Nothing. And just so it is with this Character. There are many things in it finely enough sayd, to work upon a partial and an Easy Imagination; and to mislead a body at first sight into an Opinion that there may be something of weight and Substance in it; but upon a second Thought it seems to be only a plausible Strain of Words, which the Authour has as well Colour'd yet, as the matter will bear.

It serves however in *English* well enough for an Incentive and Appeal to the Multitude: But if it should happen to be turn'd into *French* or *Latin*, it would become as ill an Office to the Protestants abroad, as it is here to the Government. For what could be of a more pernicious Consequence, from an unknown and private Pen, then for one of the Reform'd Communion to tell the *French King*, that if he suffers one Protestant Subject to live in his Dominions, he is all those Vile, Impious, and Abject things that the Authour has here bundled up in the Character of his Popish Successour?

But for this Popish Successour of his, which is a Figure that has no Being in Nature, but in his own Brain; what if I should match it now, in Flesh and Blood? But it must be then among the Jesuited Successours of *Knox*, and *Buchanan*; and the Spawn of that King-killing Race. There are mismatch'd Ingredients in abundance, Christ upon his Tribunal, (as they prophanely ascribe to their General Assembly) authorizing Bloudshed, Schism, and Disobedience; a Treaty with the King at *Breda*, and the Murder of the Brave *Maurice*, both in a breath. Were ever hand and heart less *Akin*, then

then when they subscrib'd Loyalty and Obedience with the One, and at the same time meditated and Resolved Treason with the Other? Then when they *Exirpated* what they Swore they would only *Reform*; and utterly destroy'd that Freedom and Property, which they Pretended to preserve? Then when instead of advancing Purity of Doctrine, and the Kingdom of Christ, they fill'd the Pulpits with Jugglers, that imposed upon the People the directions of their *Standing Tables*, or the *Close Committee*, as the Dictates of the Holy Ghost; and in place of the Prophets words, *Rise, Slay and Eat*, cry'd out, *Cursed be They that keep back their Sword in this Cause*. You know the Story of Gods Message unto Ahab for letting Benhadad go upon *Composicion*, Stricklands Thanksgiving Sermon. Nov. 5. 1643. *Do Justice to the Greatest*, says Herle before the Commons, Nov. 5. 1644. *Sauls Sons are not spar'd; no nor may Agag, or Benhadad, though themselves Kings*. *Zimri and Cozbi (though Princes of the People,) must be pers'd into their Tents*. This is the way to Consecrate your selves to God. And what was the Ground of all this Fiercenesse; but a Popish King, (though the Glory of the Reformation) for want of a Popish Successour?

The Kings Cause and Resolutions are so engaged to the Popish Party (they say) for the Suppression and Exirpation of the True Religion, that all Hopes of Peace and Protection are Excluded; and it is fully intended to give satisfaction to the Papists, by alteration of Religion; and to the Cavaliers and other Soldiers, by exposing the Wealth of the Good Subjects, especially of This City of London, to be Sack'd, Plunder'd, and Spoil'd by them. And then again, His Majesty endeavoured to keep off all Jealousies and Suspitions, by many fearfull Oaths and Imprecations, concerning his purpose of maintaining the Protestant Religion, &c. Ib. pa. 665.

Declarat. & Prot. of Lords and Commons, to the Kingdom, and the whole world. Octob. 22. 1642. Exact Coll. pag. 664.

This is enough to convince the world that the very Sound of Popery will do the business, as well Without a Ground, as With it: And whoever goes about to allarm the People upon This Desperate point, had need give very good Security for his Allegiance. But if it should prove to be the work of some Good-Old-Causemen, the very Fact it self is not Clearer then the Designe. But however it is, the Author has endeavour'd to prevent any such Conjecture, by a Complement upon the Memory of the Father,



## The Character of a Papist

ther, to make the better way to the venting of his spleen against the Successor here in question.

*If there can be a Son of that Royal Martyr Charles the First (says he) a Prince so truly pious, that his very Enemies dare not asperse his Memory or Life, with the least Blemish of Irreligion; A Prince that Seal'd the Protestant Faith with his Blood; who in his deplorable Fate, and Ignominious Death, bore so near a resemblance to That of the Saviours of the world, that his Sufferings can do no lesse then Seal him at the Right hand of Heaven. If (I say) there can be a Son of that Royall Protestant of that Uncharitable Faith, who by the very Tenets of his Religion dooms (for deems I suppose) all that die without the Bosome of their Church irreparably damned: Then Consequently he must barbarously tear up his Fathers Sacred Monument, brand his Blessed Memory with the Name of Heretique; and to complete the horrid Anathema, he must impiously execrates the very Majesty that gave him Being. Fol. 11.*

The Authour has wrought up This Phanfy to a high Pitch, as well in respect of the Father, as of the Son; and he has shew'd his skill in't too, for the more he advances the Reputation of the One, the more scope he has, upon the Opposition, to depresso the Esteem of the Other. I would charitably believe that he means good Faith in the Honourable Mention he makes of that Venerable Martyr: But yet there are some passages in this Discourse that would make a man half suspect This Flourish upon the Last King to be intended as a Blind, to give him Opportunity of getting a fairer Marque at This. For he is here upon a subject where 'tis a Common thing to have the *Heart* and the *Hand* as far as Heaven and Earth asunder. Witnesse the Close of the Declaration before-mentioned, Pag. 666. *We do here Protest before the Ever-Living God, that the Chief End of all our Councils and Resolutions, is to secure the Persons, Estates, and Liberties of all that joyn with us, and to procure and establish the Safety of Religion, and Fruition of our Laws and Libertyes, in This and all Other his Majesties Dominions, without any Intention or desire to hurt or injure his Majesty, either in his Person, or JUST Power.*

Let any man consider, that at This very time, they were destroying the Church; in Arms against the King; Plundering and Imprisoning those that would not joyn with them; and lastly, that they order'd this Declaration to be forthwith Printed, and  
Read

Read in all Churches and Chappels in *England and Wales* : calling Heaven and Earth to Wittneſſe the Integrity of their Souls, under all theſe Groſs, and Scandalous Contradiſtions.

Now to the Latter part of his Paragraph, Firſt, he lays down a falſe Suppoſition, and then he raiſes out of it a moſt uncharitable Conſequence. For the very Poſition that *there is no Salvation out of the Church*; is qualified yet with an Exception, in caſe of an *Invincible Perſwaſion*; But if this be ſo lew'd a Principle, in One Religion, why is it not ſo in Another? There is not a fouler Character in Hell, then he has drawn here of a Popiſh Succellour. and he founds it upon the Irreſiſtible Impulſes and Dictates of the Religion. which being admitted, involves every Individual member of the Church of *Rome*, in the ſame Condemnation. So that he himſelf damns all the Papiſts, as well as he makes Them Damn all the Proteſtants.

So much for the *Son of that Royal Proteſtant*, as he expreſſes it. But he ſays nothing all this while of the undutiſull Subjects of that bleſſed Martyr: Thoſe that actually divided his Sacred Head from his Body, and then glory'd in it as an Acceptable Sacrifice unto the Lord.

But was This Prince ſo pious, does he ſay, that *his very Enemies dare not aſperſe his Memory*? &c. What if I ſhould ſhew him now (to convince him of his Miſtake) three or four of the Fierceſt Sticklers we have for the Phanatical Intereſt, that have paſſ'd their Approbation upon that Execrable Murther?

Char. *However* (ſays he) *if there be ſuch a King in Nature, as will not Defend his Own Religion, becauſe he dares not; but Sneaks upon a Throne, and in Obedience to his Fear ſhrinks from the Dictates of his Conſcience: If like Jupiters Logg, Such a King can be; and Fate has ordain'd us for a Popiſh Prince; Pray Heaven ſhroud the Imperial Lyon in this Innocent Lamb-Skin.* (Fol. 3.)

He does well enough to pray for *Jupiters Logg*, conſidering what Havock the *Republican Storks* have made with us Allready. But is it ſo Baſe a thing (ſays he) for a Prince to ſhrink from the Dictates of his Conſcience? What if his Maſteſty himſelf ſhould make it a point of Conſcience not to entertein any Project for the Uniting, as they call it, of Proteſtant Diſſenters; in regard both of the Publike Peace, and the Heretical Opinions that muſt be indulg'd under that Denomina-

tion? Would not the Kings concessions in that point bring him within the Equity of this *Successours Character*?

Char. *But I have heard* (says he) *a great many say, it cannot enter into their Thoughts that a Popish Successour will ever take such an Inhumane, and so unnatural a Course to Establish Popery, it being so absolutely against the English Constitution, that it can never be introduced with less than a Deluge of Blood. Surely his very Glory should withhold him from so much Cruelty, &c.* Fol. 5.

*The Glory of a Papist!* (says he, in Reply upon himself,) *a pretty Aery Notion. How shall we ever expect that Glory shall steer the Action, of a Popish Successour, when there is not that thing so Abject, that he shall refuse to do, or That Shape or Hypocrisie so Scandalous, he shall not assume, when Rome or Rome's Interest shall Command; nay, when his own petulant Stubbornesse shall but sway him? As for Example; for One Fit he shall come to the Protestant Church, and be a member of their Communion, notwithstanding at the same time his Face belie's his Heart, and in his Soul he is a Romanist. Nay, he shall vary his Disguises as often as an Algerine his Colours, and change his Flag to conceal the Pyrat. As for Instance, Another fit, for whole years together, he shall come neither to One Church nor th' other, and participate of neither Communion, till ignoble he plays the Unprincipality, may the unmanly Hypocrite, so long, that he shelters himself under the Face of an Atheist to shroud a Papist; a Visitor more fit for a Banditto then a Prince. And This methinks is so Wretched and despicable a Disguise, that it looks like being ashamed of his God.* Fol. 5.

If a Popish Successour will do any thing, though never so Abject, he will comply then, and make his Religion Truckle to his Interest: But how comes he to be so Abject, and Yielding in One Line, and so Stubborn in the Next: If it be True that he will so Scandalously play the Hypocrite as to Change his Shape, and Act any part for his Advantage, which Rome, or Romes Interest shall Impose upon him; what should hinder him from making himself a Protestant to the Law, though he continue a Papist still in his Heart? And where's the Outcry then, against the Popish Successour? If he will do This, the Exception is Remov'd; For he's no longer, in Contradiction of Law, a Papist: And if he will not do it, he has great Wrong done him in the Character. The Policy, or in Truth the Probability of his running from One Communion to Another, I must Confesse I do not understand. For if he can dispense with shuffling and shifting; his way

way would be to shift once for all into the shape of a Protestant ; ( For That's a Turn would gain him his Point ) and not to wander thus from One Church to Another, to no manner of Purpose. Upon the whole Matter, the Authour methinks might have treated the Brother of his Sovereign with a little more regard to the Terms of Decency, and Respect, and kept himself to the Cause, without betraying so great an Animosity to the Person. But having to do with a Prince of his own Creating, he thinks he may deal with him at what rate he pleases.

Char. Besides, If Glory could have any Ascendant over a Popish Successor, one would think the word of a King, and the Solemn Protections of Majesty ought to be Sacred and Inviolable. But how many Presidents have we in Popish Princes to convince us that their strongest Engagements and Promises, are lighter then the very Breath that Utters them. As for Examples sake, How did their Saint Mary of England promise the Norfolk and Suffolk Inhabitants the unmolested Continuation of the Protestant Worship ; calling her God ( that God that saw the Falseness of her Heart ) to witnesse, That though her own Perswasion was of the Romish Faith, yet she would content her self with the Private Exercise of her own Devotion, and preserve the then Protestant Government, with all her Subjects Rights and Priviledges, uninjur'd. Upon which, those poor, credulous, honest, deluded Believers, on the Security of such Prevalent Conjurations, led by the mistaken Reverence they paid to a Protestant Majesty, laid their Lives at her Feet, and were the very men that in That Contest of the Succession plac'd her on a Throne : But immediatly when her Sovereign Power was securely establish'd, and his pious Holiness had bid her safely pull the Vizard off, no sooner did Smithfield glow w<sup>th</sup> Piles of Blazing Hereticks ; But Chronicles more particularly observe, that no people in her whole Kingdom felt so signal marks of her Vengeance, as those very Men that rais'd her to the Throne. Her Princely Gratitude for their Crowning her with a Diadem, Crown'd Them with their Martyrdoms.

But since we have mentioned her Princely Gratitude, 'twill not be amiss to recollect one Instance more of so Exemplary a Virtue. In the Dispute betwixt Her's and the Lady Jane Grey's Title to the Crown, it was remarkable, that all the Judges of England gave their Unanimous Opinions for the Lady Jane's Succession, except one of them only, that asserted the Right of Mary : But it so fell out, that This man proving a Protestant ( notwithstanding of all the whole Scarlet-Robe he had been her only Champion ) was so barbarously persecuted by her, that being first

degraded, then imprison'd and tortur'd for his Religion, the Cruelty of his Torments was so savage, that with his own hand he made himself a way to escape 'em. And well might the violence of his Despair testifie his Sufferings were Intolerable, when he fled to so sad a Refuge as Self-Murther, for Deliverance. Fol. 5. & 6.

See how he Confounds himself here in his way of Reasoning: Because *Q. Mary* was not so good as her Word; therefore *No Popish Prince* values himself upon his Honour. 'Tis true, she brake her Promise with *Norfolk*, and *Suffolk* (as he Reports it) that gave her the First Lift toward the Crown: But it is more then he can justifie to make it a premeditate Perfidy; as he renders it. For it is the Opinion of our best Writers, that she was rather wrought upon, *ex post facto*, to that Violation; But a Violation it was however; and there's no Excuse for't. And it was a mean Ingratitude to the Generous Loyalty of those People, whom (under favour) she did not treat worse then Others, but she did ill in not using them better.

As to what concerns the matter of Title, the Lady *Mary*, claiming to the Crown upon a *Statute* of 35. *Hen. 8.* and *Edward the Sixth*, being prevail'd upon afterward in his Death-sickness, contrary to the Intent and direction of that Statute, to transfer the Succession, by *Will*, to the Lady *Jane Grey*, in favour of a Faction that labour'd the Disinheriting of the Ladyes *Mary* and *Elizabeth*; all the Judges subscribed to the Disinherison of the Sisters, save only *Sr. James Hales*; (Justice of the Common Pleas) who refused, upon a Conscience of the *Right*, without any regard to the *Person* of the Lady *Mary*. This same *Sr. James Hales*, for giving a Charge afterward, Derogatory to the Supremacy of the Pope, was committed to Prison; but received Good Words and fair usage, some time after. He Fell however into a deep melancholly, and in the Conclusion Drown'd himself. But I see no warrantable Authority for the Report of his being put to the Torture; only the Authour of the Character finds it convenient to have it so, for the better grace of his Story. But we need not trouble our selves to look so far back for Instances of Breach of Faith; this Last Age having made us Famous for *Perjurious Practises*, beyond all that ever went before it. Witness the whole Tract of our Late Troubles. But now comes Another Objection of his own, with His Reply upon it.



Char. Suppose (says he) that the Conservation of a Nation's Peace, the Dictates of a Princes Glory, and all the Bonds of Morality, cannot have any Influence upon a Popish Successour; yet why may there not be that Prince, who in veneration of his Coronation-Oath, shall defend the Protestant Religion, notwithstanding all his Private regret and inclinations to the Contrary? When, rather then incur the infamous Brand of Perjury, he shall ty himself to the Performance of That which not the force of Religion it self shall violate. And Then, how can there be That Infidel of a Subject, after so Solemn an Oath, that shall not believe him?

Why, truly, I am afraid there are a great many of those Infidells, (says he) and some that will give smart Reasons for their Infidelity: For, if he keeps his Oath, we must allow, that the only Motive that Prompts him to keep it, is some Obligation that he believes is in an Oath. But considering he is of a Religion that can absolve Subjects from their Allegiance to an Heretical, Excommunicated Prince, nay Depose him, and take his very Crown away: Why may it not much more release a King from his Faith to an Excommunicated, Heretical People; by so much as the Tyes of Vassals to Monarchs are greater then those of Monarchs to Vassals.

By the Obligation of an Oath, I presume he means the Religious Obligation of it; because he speaks of That Obligation from which the Pope pretends a power to absolve him. Now if this be his Mind; That Obligation is not (as he says) the only Motive to the keeping of his Oath; but there is a Super-Additional Reason of State, and Political Contemplations, over and above. Take that for granted once, that there's no Trusting to the Oath of a Roman Catholique Prince; and ye cut the very Ligaments of Society, and Commerce. There's an End of All Treatyes, and Alliances; amicable and mutual Offices betwixt Christian Princes, and States: Nay, in One word, erect but This Maxim; you turn Europe into a Shambles, and put Christendom, without any more ado, into a State of War. For where there's no Trust, there can be no Security: And then we know upon Experience, that the Outrages of Jealousy, for the Preventing of Imaginary Evills, are actually the most dreadfull of Real ones themselves. This Opinion makes us a Scorn and a Prey to Infidels, and Stripsus of all that is Divine, and Reasonable in us, together.

I am nor ignorant yet, either of the Doctrine, or of the Practice of several Profligate Wretches of the Roman Communion, in This Impious Particular. But they are such then as are wholly lost in Brutality and Blindnesse, and I neither

I neither do, nor can believe all Papists to be equally susceptible of That Unchristian Impression. It is a Position that may be made use of at a Dead Lift, to serve a Political Turn. And the Trick will not pass neither, but upon some Enthusiastick Sick-headed Zealot, that takes all his Dreams for Visions, and the Vapours of his Distemper for Revelations. We have had of these Romish Dispensations and Absolutions in abundance, among our Own Fanatical Jesuites, and not only the Doctrine asserted, but the Duty also of abjuring our Oaths of Allegiance and Canonical Obedience inculcated, and press'd upon the pain of Imprisonment, Plunder and Damnation. Yet God forbid that the Acts of the Conclave of a Close Committee, and the Determinations of an *Ignatian* Assembly of Divines (the True Counter-Part of the Holy Society;) the Lord forbid (I say) that This Cabal of audacious Extravagants, that took upon them to Discharge us from the Obligations of the Ten Commandments, as well as of the Laws of the Land, should reflect a Scandal upon the whole Body of our Communion, as if Their Warrant were a Legitimation of Perjury and Rebellion, and the Doctrine of King-killing, and Violence, were the Dictate of our Profession.

He touches a little lower upon the French Kings breaking in upon *Flanders*, contrary to his Oath. [*All the Motives* (says he) *that could provoke him to the Breach of his Oath, were only his Ambition, a Lust of being Great, &c. Fol. 6.*] So that he has now found out a Popish Prince, it seems, that sacrifices his Conscience to his Glory, though but a little before he made it the Character of a Popish Successour to sacrifice his Glory to his Religion. Now by the way, I look upon Majesty as a Sacred Character, and not to be handled but with Veneration: Wherefore whether his Assumption be True or False, I shall speak to it only as a Supposition. He proceeds now to the ballancing of the matter.

*If (says he) a Roman Catholique can break an Oath only for the Pleasure of Conquering, which he knows is doing Ill; Shall not a Popish Prince in England have ten times more Inclination to break an Oath for the Propagation of his own Faith, which his Conscience tells him is meritorious?*

I Answer, that the breaking of an Oath, out of a Lust of being Great, is the Crime properly of an Ambitious Prince, not of a Popish: For he does not consult his Religion, but only his Glory, in the Committing of it. And the same Thirst of Dominion, with the same degree of Indifference, as to the Business of Right or wrong,



in concurrence with the same Advantages of Power and Opportunity, would have produced the very same effects in a Prince of any other Judgment. Well, but he does an Ill thing knowingly; and so are most of the Ill things that are done in the World, without any regard to the difference of Protestant or Papist. But Then his Application of This Ill thing done to another Prince of the same Perswasion is only the cutting of One Diamond with another; and nothing at all to our Case.

*But much more will a Popish Prince in England (says he) &c.—* Does it follow Here that because a man would rather forswear himself to bring a Good thing to pass, then a Bad one, (though we are to do no evil at all that Good may come of it) that therefore for the compassing of a good end a man will forswear himself? Neither have I ever as yet heard of the Merit of propagating any Religion, by Perjury: Or that the Consciences of any sort of Christians could justify them in a Crime which even Infidels themselves by the meer instinct of Nature have in extreme abhorrence. And he follows the point yet further.

*Char. He has Religion (says he) to drive the Royal Jehu on; Religion that from the beginning of the world, through all Ages, has set all Nations in a Flame; yet never confessed it self in the Wrong.*

These are strange words to come from the mouth of a pretender to Scruples, and a Protestant Advocate. His Quarrel is not now so much to a Popish, as to a Religious Successour. Nor is it any longer Popery, but Religion it self, that he strikes at, as the dangerous and Obstinate incendiary. Nay and since Religion was in the world, it was never otherwise he says. So that here is a very fair expedient hinted, for the good of Christendom, to exterminate this Spirit of Discord (RELIGION) from off the face of the Earth. If he had said only the *Pretext of Religion*, he might have Appeal'd, either to the *Clamour of his Brethren*, or to his *own Papers*. For it is the *Pretext* that both Furnishes the *Fuel*, and blows the *Coal*: while Religion lies burning in the *Furnace*.

*Char. Beside (says he) how can a Popish Prince, in attempting to Establish his own Religion, believe he does his Subjects an Injustice, in that very thing in which he does God Justice; or think he Injures Them, when he does their Souls Right? Fol. 6.*

This Pretense of doing God Justice, and the Souls of men Right; will entitle a Prince, with a much more plausible Colour, and a better Grace, to the breaking in upon the Territories and Subjects of other Princes and States, under Countenance of the same Design: For in that case, there's no Bar of an *Oath* upon him; whereas the same

same Violence upon his own Subjects renders him Guilty of a manifest Perjury.

But what does he mean by an *Attempt* to establish his own Religion? If it be by way of *Argument*; 'tis well. But if he makes use of any compulsive act of Authority, contrary to his Oath, he stands accountable to God for breach of Faith; and does no *Justice* to God in it neither, nor *Right* to the *Souls* of his *People*. For where's the *justice* to God, in making use of his Name to an Imposture? and in rendering him not only a *Witness*, but in some sort, a *Party* to a *Cheat*? And where's the *Right* to his *Peoples Souls*, in forcing them to the Profession of a Religion with their *Lips*, which they abhor in their *Hearts*? Or, in fine, how can a *Popish Prince* so much as pretend, either to the one, or the other, against so clear a *Light*, both of Scripture and Nature? In short, either he is indispensably bound to do the thing, or at liberty whether he will do it or no? If the former, his Oath must be either a *Nullity* or a *Fraud*; and if the other, his antecedent Obligation has determin'd that liberty. [*But Religious Frenzy* (says he, Fol. 7.) *leaves that eternal intoxication behind it, that where it commits all the Cruelties in the World, 'tis never sober after to be sorry for't*] How truly, and how severely is this said? Witness the impenitent Ends and Courses of all the *Kings Murderers*, both Dead and Living. And now again [*Thus* (says he) *Whilst a Popish King sets his whole Kingdom in a Combustion; how little does he think he plays a Second Nero? Good Conscientious Man, not he; Alas! He does not Tune his Joys to the Tyrannick Nero's Harp, but to David's milder and more sacred Lyre; whilst, in the height of his pious Extasy, he sings Te Deum, at the Conflagration. ib.*] Turn but *Popish King* here, into *Popish, Phanatical Faction*, and what an admirable illustration is this of the *Brethrens Exultations* and *Thanksgivings*, for the Ruine of their *Sovereign*, the *Holy Church*, and *Three Kingdoms*? Nay, and the florid humour goes on with him still. [*Thus* (says he) *with an Arbitrary, unbounded Power, what does his Licentious holy Thirst of blood do less, than make his Kingdoms a larger Slaughter-house, and his Smithfield an Original Shambles? Thus the Old Moloch, once again revives, to feast and riot on his dear, human Sacrifice: And whilst his fiery Iron hands crush the poor Victim dead, the PROPAGATION of RELIGION, and the GLORY of GOD (as he calls it) are the very Trumpets that deafen all the feeble Cryes of blood, and drown the dying Groans of what he Murders. Ibid.*] Can any Man read this Pathetical Figure of Tyranny and Desolation, without turning the *OLD MOLOCH* into

into the *GOOD-OLD-CAUSE*; and calling to mind the Glorious Sacrifices that were offer'd at *White-Hall-Gate*; upon *Tower-Hill*; *Cheap-side*; *Charing-Cross*; and in a word, in all the Quarters of His Majesties Dominions, to that Mercyleſs and Inſatiable *Idol*? To ſay nothing of thoſe *Whole-Sale Carnages*, at *Edge-hill*, *Newbury*, *Marſton-Moor*, *Navesby*, &c. where the blood of loyal Subjects, and true Protestants, was ſpilt like Water, and the Priests of *Baal*, all this while, with the *PROPAGATION* of *RELIGION*, and the *GLORY* of *GOD* in their Mouths, celebrating, in their *Pulpits* and *Festivals*, theſe Barbarous Triumphs. And yet again;

Char. Thus (ſays he) whiſt the bonds of Faith, Vows, Oaths and Sacraments cannot hold a Popiſh Succeſſor; what is that in an Imperial Head, but what in a private Man we puniſh with a Jail and Pillory? whiſt the Perjur'd Wretch ſtands the Universal Marque of Infamy, and then is driven from all Converſation, and like a Monster hooted from Light and Day.] Pray'e correct the Errata's of this paſſage, thus: For Popiſh Succeſſor read Jeſuitical Covenanter; and for an Imperial Head read a Committee of Safety: And then ye have the Mystery uncipher'd. [But the Pope (he ſays) and a Royal Hand, may do anything; there's a Crown in the caſe, to guild the deeds his Royal Engines act.] This Pope and Royal Hand ſhould have been their General Aſſembly; and their (Pretended) Chriſt upon his Throne; and then God's Cauſe, and according to the Covenant hallows the *Se-  
dition*

Et quod

*Turpe eſt Cerdoni, Voleſos, Brutosque decebit.*

One Verſe more would have expounded the whole buſineſs.

*Ille Crucem ſcleris Pretium, iulit, Hic, Diadema.*

Char. They are ſtill (ſays he) that adorable Sovereign Greatneſs we muſt kneel to, and obey. What if a little Perjur'd Villain has ſworn a poor Neighbour out of a Cow or a Cottage! Hang him, inconfiderable Rogue! His Ears deſerve a Pillory. But to *VOW* and *COVENANT* and *FORSWEAR THREE KINGDOMS OUT OF THEIR LIBERTIES AND LIVES*; that's Illuſtrious and Heroique. There's Glory in great Achievements, and Virtue in Succeſs. Alas! a vaſt Imperial Nimrod hunts for Nobler Spoils; flies at a whole Nations

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*Property and Inheritance. A Game w<sup>th</sup>hy a Son of Rome, and Heir of Paradise. Aid to lay the mighty scene of ruine secure, he makes his Coronation-Oath, and all his Royal Protestations (those splendid Baits of premeditated Perjury) the Cover and Skreen to the hidden fatal Toyl, laid to ensnare a Nation. fol. 7.*

Never were those *Illustrious* and *Honourable* Vot<sup>rs</sup> and Covenanters, that forswore three Kingdoms out of their Liberties and Lives, drawn so to the Life; and five hundred Nimrods too upon the chase of our *Property and Inheritance*. And it was a Game worthy of the Sons of *Buchanan*; and (if they may be their own Godfathers) the Children of the Lord too, under the Cover of their ambiguous *Protestations*; and their *Holy League-Bands of Confederacy*; they conceal'd the Snare of that *premeditated Perjury*, which was follow'd with so many dreadful judgments upon the Nation.

He prosecutes his Subject with a Reply to the Objection, that 'tis impossible for a Popish Successor to introduce Popery into *England*. That the *Jesuits*, had such a design; & that the whole Party believ'd it practicable, he evinces from the Plot; and that the prospect of a presumptive Popish Heir, render'd them more confident of succeeding in it, fol. 7. and 8. And yet four or five Lines further, he represents the difficulties of restoring Popery into *England* to be almost insuperable: and so with just reflections upon the *Paris*, and *Irish Massacres*; the Villanies of *Gun-powder Treasons*, *Conflagrations*, and *Plots* against *Kings and Kingdoms*. He finishes that Paragraph.

I shall easily agree here to all the Ill that he says of the Seditious and pragmat<sup>l</sup> Papists, without disputing one syllable of it. And yet I think it very well worth our care, to distinguish betwixt zeal and clamour; and not over-hastily to give credit to That Sort of People, whose method it is; first, to make Papists odious; and then to make the Church of *England* Popish. And this is not said neither to divert any man from a reasonable apprehension of the other danger. There never was a greater noise of Popery, than in the Prologue to the misfortunes of the late King. And what was the Ground, or what the Issue of it? There was a Conspiracy to undermine the Government, and no way but that to put the People out of their Wits, and out of their Duties together; and the Project succeeded, to the actual subversion  
of

of the Government. And when the Zelots had possessed themselves of the Quarry, they shar'd both publick and private Revenues among themselves, and fell afterward to the cutting of one another's Throats, for the Booty; without one word more of Popery. In Brief, to joyn in an Out-cry against *Papists*, with those that Reckon *Episcopacy* to be *Popery*, is to assist our Enemies toward the putting on of our own Shackles. And it is gone so far too, that the Libellers, and their Dictators range them hand in hand already; and you shall seldom see a Blow made at the Pope, without a Lick at the Bishops. But the Project begins now to open.

Char. *Let us now rightly consider how far the first Foundations of Popery (viz. Arbitrary Power) may be laid in England. First, then, if a Papist Reign; the Judges, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and all the Judiciary Officers are of the King's Creation: and as such, how far may the influence of Preferment; on baser Constitutions, cull'd out for his purpose, prevail even to deprave the very Throne of Justice her self; and make our Judges use even our Protestant Laws themselves to open the first Gate to Slavery.*

We are just now upon a Preliminary to the Nineteen Old Propositions over again. For fear of an *Arbitrary Power*, the King was not to be trusted with the Choice of his own Officers. But no thought taken for the securing of the Government from Popular Tumults and Insurrections; in case of lodging that trust in any other hand. Beside the putting of the King into an incapacity of providing for the justice, and security of the Government. But he is so far however in the right; that *the perverting of that power may endanger the State*. And for that consideration, it is a Trust not to be parted with, lest it should once more be re-apply'd to the destruction of the King and People, as it was before. It is a certain Truth, that a Prince, by the abuse of his Power may prove a Tyrant. But it is as certain again, that there is not any form, or temperament of Sovereignty imaginable, that is not lyable to the same possibility. For Tyranny it self, is only the straining of the Essential and necessary powers of Government beyond their pitch. We have experimented the worst effects of Usurpation, and Corruption; and of turning the Equity of the Law against the Letter of it; nay of setting up the Laws themselves against



the very authority that made them. And all this would never have done the work neither, if the faction had not supply'd the want of Laws for their purpose in some cases, and superseded others that were against them, by an Arbitrary Device of *Votes*, and *Ordinances*. So that the hazard is nothing so great as he represents it, in the hand of a Prince, for want of that power of *Enacting* and *Repealing*, which the Faction possessed themselves of by an Usurpation. *But alas!* (says he, Pag. 8.) *The Laws in corrupted Judges hands have been too often used as barbarously as the Guests of Procrustes, who had a Bed for all Travellers; but then he either cut them shorter, or stretch'd them longer, to fit them to it,*

And is not this very charitably done now; to imagine the worst things that either ever were or can be done; Of a Prince, (admitting my Author's supposition) whose Empire, Safety; Donions; and the well-fare of whose People, are all dependent upon his good behaviour, and justice? So that he ventures his All on the one side, to get nothing on the other, Here is the fanfie of remote and uncertain difficulties, oppo'd to our present security and well-being! and after a Capital Sentence, pronounced with a formality of Law, upon an Imperial Prince, as a *Traytor to the Sovereignty of the People*; We are now opening the way to bring another Prince to the Scaffold. For that's the Scope of several Virulent Libels, both printed and written, that have at present, their free course without controll? These are the Incendiaries I speak of, and no other. [Well (says he again) *but if the publick Ministers of Justice betray the Liberty of the Subject; The Subject may Petition for a Parliament to punish 'em for't. But what if he will neither hear one, nor call the other? who shall compel him?*] This is a very artificial way of getting a shoot at the King through the Duke; and to intimate the Exercise of an Arbitrary Power, by this manner of supposing it. It was by these very steps of accusing evil Councillours; crying out for justice against them; and for a Parliament to punish them; that the Faction mounted the Government, and strip'd his Majesty; first of his *Friends*; then of his *Revenue*; next of his *Liberty*; and lastly of his *Life*, and all this was actually done, for fear of no body knew what. *There's no doubt* (says the Character) *but hee'l find sufficient assistance from the Pope, English Papists, and Foreign Princes; beside the Revenues of the Crown. And then having but a prudent eye, and a tenacious hand to*

manage his Exchequer; we shall find hee'l never call that People he shall never have need of, fol. 8.] He supposes here an assistance for a Prince in possession of his Crown. But an assistance for what, unless in case of a Rebellion? Or is it an assistance to enable him to live without Parliaments? As if Foreign Princes would be at that charge, to be never the better for't. Or if he means a Military Assistance toward the settling of him in the Possession of an Absolute Power; his Interest undoubtedly will be much greater in the supporting of him as an *Heir*, than in advancing him as a *Tyrant*; beside, that for one *English Man* to serve him in such an unwarrantable design, he will have an *hundred*, in case of any unjust delusion, to stand by him in the defence or recovery of an undoubted Right. This is only the quitting of one Pamphlet with another; and to make use of that liberty my self which is allow'd to others. [But all this while (says he) the Pope is not *Absolute*. There wants a Standing Army to Crown the Work: And he shall have it, for who shall hinder him? Nay, all his Commanders shall be present qualifi'd, even by our Protestant Test, for the employment.] We have not forgot the Time when one standing Army was Raised for fear of another; and between Thirty and Forty Thousand Men kept in Pay for a matter of thirteen or fourteen years together, when the War was over, and not one Enemy left in the Field; one King imprison'd, and another in Banishment; Taxes multiply'd; The People peel'd to the very Bones; and the Persons and Estates of *Free-born English Men* subjected to the most scandalous Tyranny that ever was inflicted upon reasonable Creatures. And what was the Ground and Foundation of this Calamity? The Multitude were Buzz'd in the Head, that the King was Popishly inclin'd, and govern'd by Jesuitical Councils; nothing but Papists about him; and two or three Antichristian Bishops (a Pack of Tories, and Tantvies) and a mighty noise there was of *German Horse*, and the bringing of an Army up to Town to awe the City; and the Parliament: and the very fear alone of these shadows Transported them into the uttermost extremities of rage and confusion. 'Tis true, there was no Plot afoot then, as there is now; but they made sufficient shift, without it, to do their own, and the Kingdoms business. You shall now see the Composition of his Popish Successor's *Standing-Army*. He shall have *eighty Men* of the *Blade* out of one half of the *Gaming Houses* in Town, to

Officer

Officer twice as many Forces as he shall want: 'Tis true, they shall be men of no Estates, nor Principles, &c.] He should e'en have gone on, when his hands were in, and quarter'd his new Levys in *Lambeth House*, or *Pauls*, as in the days of his Forefathers. But is not this better yet, than Spiriting away of Apprentices from their Masters; decoying the poor Wenches out of their Bodkins and Thimbles, and squeezing a Rebellion out of the Gospel? We have seen an Army of pretended Saints, to the value of Twenty or Thirty Thousand in a Body; and as many Religions, as Men: every Article of the Creed call'd in question; and the Lord's Prayer exploded as a stinting of the Spirit. This and a great deal more, and worse, is true, to the very Letter. But forward [*And that this Army may be more quietly rais'd; how many honourable pretences may be found, fol. 9.*] Very right. As the fetching of the King home to his Parliament; the delivering of him out of the hands of Papists. The defence of his person, and just rights, in the maintenance of the true Protestant Religion; and all this, in the Stile of his Majesties most humble, and obedient Subjects. [Perhaps (says he) the greatest and most importunate preservation of the Kingdom shall call for't, and then upon second thoughts, instead of defeating some Foreign Enemy, they are opportunely ready to cut our Throats at home; if we do not submit, and give all that this King shall ask; *bid.*] This ingenuous Author has directly Translated the true History of the Rise and Advance of the late Rebellion, into a Prophetical Computation of the Methods and Proceedings which the World is to expect from a Popish King. Did not they seize those very Arms that the King had provided for the Relief of *Ireland*? and employ them against his Majesties very Person at *Edg-hil*? And were not those very Troops that were Raised, as they swore, for the defence of the City of *London*; Quarter'd upon the Citizens, to Ruine, and Enslave them.

Char. Thus far, says he, we have given the *Portraiture* of a Popish King: And now, let us take a draught of his Features in his Minority; that is, while he is only a Popish Heir Apparent, *I. d.*

After the Preamble of an Imaginary Prince, elevated to the height of a Generous and a glorious Character; with a Supposal of

a People too not unworthy of the blessing of such a Sovereign; and a smooth Reproach in the end of it, to intimate how much he is beholden to them; he advances as follows.

Char. Now (says he) let us suppose, after a long Tranquility of this muchless Monarchs Rign, that the immediate Heir to his Crown, and a part of his Blood, by the Sorceries of Rome is canker'd into a Papist. His meaning is easily suppos'd, by stabbing of the very Paper, whenever he comes near him. [And to pursue this Landchaze, suppose we see this once happy Flourishing Kingdom (so far as in all Duty and Reason bound) concern'd for themselves, their Heirs and their whole Countries Safety; till with an honest, cautious, prudent Fear they begin to infect a Kingdoms Universal Health; till weighing all the Symptoms of its State, they plainly descry those Pestilential Vapours fermenting, that may one day infect their Ayre, and sicken their World, and see that rising Eastern Storm engendering, that will once bring in those more then Egyptian Locusts, that will not only fill their Houses, and their Temples, but devour their Labours their Harvests, and their Vintages] Here's a Period for an Apothecary. The Inspectors (I suppose) of our Body politick may be Three or Four of our Anabaptistical Protestant Intelligencing VVater-Casters of the State. And these are the men that so plainly descry the pestilential vapours, he speaks of, which in effect are no other then the Breath of their own Lungs. But is it an Eastern Sto.m that they see engendering? why then the wind is turn'd, I perceive, for the Locusts of 40 and 43 came out of the North; and did us all the mischiefs too, of his Egyptian Locusts. And now he has given us the State of our Disorder; he is so kind as to prescribe toward our Relief, which is in a few words, That the Nation [like true Patriots do anticipate their woes, with a present sense of the future miseries they foresee, fol. 9.] which is as much as to say: Up and be d. ing, Now again

Char. What is This Popish Heir in the Eye of England, but perhaps the greatest, and only Grievance of the Nation; the Universal Object of their Hate and Fear, and the Subject of their Clamours and Curses? (methinks he might afford the Kings Brother a little better Language) at whose door, by their Discontents and Murmurs; but 'tis murmurs so violent, that they thrust in amongst their very Prayers (So did Curse ye Meroz) and become almost a part of their Devotions. (The

(The Prophet *David's* Curse is laid upon them, Their Prayer is turn'd into Sin) *Murmurs* so bold, that they dare approach the very Palace, nay Throne and Ear of Majesty, fol. 10.] Here's a large step advanc'd upon the King himself; but you shall see him come closer by and by, [Whenever (says he) the People of England reflect on this Heir as their King in reversion, they have reason to look upon him as no better than Jupiter's Stork amongst the Frogs. Yes, notwithstanding all his former Glories and Conquests, his whole Stock of Fame is so lost, and bury'd in his Apostasy from the Religion; and consequently, the Interest of these Protestant Kingdoms, that all his Services are Cancell'd, and his whole Masse of Glory corrupted, *ibid.*] I find some People of Opinion, that this King in reversion is of the same Perswasion at this day; that he was, when he acquir'd all those Glories: But let that pass, and see now what's the sum of all this Flourish, but a labour'd Piece of spiteful Art, to render the Brother of his Sacred Majesty as odious as the foulest Character, and Calumny can make him. You shall see presently that This Venom against the Duke will terminate in the King; and that instead of a Christian, and pious Zeal for Religion, the end of it is to inflame a desperate Distemper in the State. It is, in short, a Character of the worst of men, adapted to a suitable Religion: And expos'd to the World, in an uncharitable account of things, which he cannot possibly foreknow. His next supposal is a Rhetorical Speculation; and not without Reflexions bold enough, upon the unchangeable affection of his Majesty to his Royal Brother.

'What (saith he) can the consequence of this unhappy Friendship be; but that the very Souls and Loyalties of almost a whole Kingdom are stagger'd at this fatal Conjunction; till I am afraid there are too many, who in detestation of that one Gangreen'd Branch of Royalty can scarce forbear (how undutifully soever) to murmur and revile even at that Imperial Root that cherishes it? *Ibid.*] What a strange Usurpation is this, not only upon Majesty, but Human Nature; not to allow a Prince the freedom of those affections which he can no more put off than his Reasonable Being? But this is the Loyalty of the Old Stamp, that still gives the Sign with a *Hail Master*, and a *Kiss*. But how comes this Pamphlet to undertake for the sense of the whole Kingdom? It is not that he finds them so much disaffected, but he endeavours



to make them so; by teaching and animating the Sedition that he would be thought to fear. Nay, so far is he from being afraid of the undutiful murmurs he seems to apprehend; that it is scarce possible to do more toward the creating of them. And look now how he grows upon His Majesty. [‘Those very Knees (says he) that but now, would have bow’d into their very Graves to serve him, grow daily and hourly so far from bending (as they ought) to a Crown’d Head, till they are almost as stubborn as their Petitions and Prayers have been ineffectual.] What is this to say, but in his way of intimation to insinuate --- what the Reader will easily understand, though more than I am willing to express.

‘*Char.* Thus (says he) whilst a Popish Heir extravagant Zeal for *Rome*, makes him shake the very Throne that upholds him, by working and encroaching on the affections of His Majesty, for that Protection and Indulgence that gives birth and life to the Heart-burnings of a Nation; what does he otherwise than in a manner stab his King, his Patron, and his Friend, in his tenderest part, his Loyal Subjects hearts? which certainly is little less than to play the more lingering sort of *Parricide*: a part so strangely unnatural, that even *Salvages* would blush at, yet this Religion, incorrigible remorseless Religion never shrinks at. *Folio 10.*

It is worth observing, that throughout this whole Character of a *Popish Successor*, the Author of it lays more load upon the Heir than upon the Religion; for he treats the Latter still in the terms of a fair and generous enemy; but when he comes to the Other, he shoots Poyson’d Arrows, *Parricide*, *Gangreen’d*, and the like, without any respect either to Modesty or Honour. And what is the whole Tract indeed, but an artificial Declamation, without so much as one ill thing in’t, bating the Perswasion, that is either liable to a proof, or possible for him to know: And yet he does as boldly pronounce upon things to come, as if he had the Book of Fate in his Pocket. He charges the Successor here, with encroaching upon the Kings Affections.

It was a little while agoe, only the *invincible tenderness* of His Majesty; but it is now turn’d into the *working* and *insinuation* of his Brother: who *stabs the King* (says the Character-Writer) *in the Hearts of his Loyal Subjects*. But what if it should happen that the King should be here stabbed thorough the Duke? It was at this rate, that *Land* and *Strafford* stabb’d the late King too. And

what was the end on't; but that when the Kings Friends were remov'd, under the Character of his Enemies; his Sacred Majesty left naked and defenceless, those Hypocrites that had nothing in their Mouths, but *Loyalty and Religion*; those were the very Men that stabb'd him themselves. This is the plain Historical Fact, without either amplifications or colours.

But if you'll see a figure upon the Stretch; observe his next fancy; where he makes the Duke a *Parricide* for killing the King in the hearts of his People, by his applications and respects to His Majesty. And a *Parricide* (as he phrases it) so *strangely unnatural* too, that even *Pagans* would blush at it. Is this Jest or Earnest now? is it a pang of Duty and Conscience? Or is it not rather the Luxuriancy of a high-flown thought? How comes it to be so flagitious a crime, for one brother to love another, that Humane Nature must be startled at it? Or that a Prince may not presume to venture upon the Duties of Christianity, Natural Affection, Friendship, Honour and Humanity, for fear of being call'd to account for't in a Pamphlet? Well! but he tells us of the *Heart-burnings* of the Nation at this conjunction; and for that reason, he expects, it seems, that His Majesty shall relinquish his Brother. But what if a Man should ask him, *First*, How he knows this to be the sence of the Nation? *Secondly*, What Commission he has to tell the World so? And *Thirdly*, How he comes so positively to assert that it is so; when it is clear, on the contrary that it is not so? For the Peoples quarrel is to the *Religion* only, whereas the Authors is principally to the *Duke*. But let us give him these *Heart-burnings* for granted; and see how far a concession upon that point will carry us at last. *First*, The Duke Marches off; and then the Kings Ministers back after him; and then goes the *Militia*: and so in course, the Bishops, the Revenue, &c. To the end of the Chapter of *Forty Eight*: and all this, to gratify one longing after another, till, in the conclusion, another Government turns up Trump. *Plato Redivivus* has the whole Scheme of the Project ready cut and dry'd. This was the very Method of our Ruine; and the name of Religion led the way to't. A *Covenanted*, and, in his own Words, an *incorrigible, remorseless Religion*. But why these *Heart-burnings*, now the Duke is out of the Kingdom? unless they would him out of the World too? And that would not serve neither, for so long as there is a Service-Book, a Surplice, or a Canonical Habit in the Kingdom, and this Humour kept a foot, there shall never

never want Popery to work upon. The next clause speaks the plainest *English* we have had yet.

*Coar.* 'The Nation in studying to prevent *Tyranny* grew jealous of Monarchy, and for fear of their Moneys going the wrong way they will give none at all, but rather triumph in His Majesty's greatest wants, even when his glory, nay possibly when his nearest safety calls for their assistance. *Fol. 11.* This way of saying that they will not give Money, (which is more yet than he knows) carries the force of an Advice that they *should* not; which is the thing that this passage manifestly intends and designs. So that if the rest of the Nation were of his mind, the *French King* might have this Kingdom for the asking; for both King and People upon these terms are manifestly abandon'd as a sacrifice to this jealousy.

Toward the bottom of the same page he brings in a Deliberation to this effect: This *Papish Prince* cannot either help his Persuasion or relinquish it; nor is it a thing to be exacted from him that he should. The Grievances of the Kingdom may be his unhappiness and not his fault; for he is onely passive, and lives to himself, without meddling to encourage or favour Popery in the least. *But how does it follow* (says he *Fol. 12.*) *that if we do not plainly see him act, that he does not act.* But how does it follow on the other side, say I, that he does act if no body can prove it? It is the rule of Christian Charity in doubtful cases ever to *judge the best*, but the Author of this *Coaracter* does not think fit to walk by this rule; for first he casts with himself *what is the worst that can happen*, and then he improves the far-fetch'd possibility of that worst of Events into a Prediction, that certainly that thing shall come to pass. And then he considers how mean and wicked it is possible for Flesh and Blood to be, and those Vices and Imperfections jumbled together are the Ingredients that make up his Character.

*Char.* 'But to the Objection (*says he*) the Grievance of a Nation may be his unhappiness, and not his Fault, &c. That is in short; *He cannot help it.* Very right. And so when This *Papish* Heir comes to the Crown, and promotes the *Romish* Interest with all the severity, Injustice and Tyranny that Religious Cruelty can invent. His Answer will be, *He cannot help it; or at least cannot withstand those irresistible Motives that prompt him to their Execution; which is the same thing.*

Will he have it then that our *Actions* and our *Thoughts* are bound up alike, under a determinate, and insuperable necessity, of our *doing* this or that, as well as of *thinking* so or so? Or will he call those *motives*, *irresistible*, that do only *prompt*, and invite us to the doing of any thing? He has screwed up Tyranny and injustice here, to the highest degree of cruelty and terrour. And now if this barbarous rigour be so inseparable from the *Genius* of the Religion; how comes it that a *French Popish King* should be better natur'd to his Subjects of the Reform'd Religion, then he will allow an *English Popish King* capable of being toward his Protestant Subjects. [*The same impulse of Conscience* (he says) *that makes a man a Roman Catholique, will make him Act like one, when opportunity serves. Ibid.* That's very Right; but I cannot yet think that any Party of men will pretend explicitly to authorize the putting of Christians to death, purely upon a Consideration of *Religion*, and *Conscience*, in order to the propagation of the Gospel. And yet I know, the Jesuits, of both Churches have gone a great way towards it. *Cursed be he* (says *Cass*, in the late Rebellion) *that withholdeth his Sword from Blood; that spareth when God saith strike, &c.* [*The Papist* (he says) *is of a Religion that makes humane merit the Path of Salvation.*] And so he passes into a very florid descant upon the Abuses, in the Church of *Rome*, of this wonder-working merit. And our dissenting Papists, in the late times, came not one jote behind them, in making it the dayly Theme of the Pulpit, to Preach Salvation to all that di'd in the Cause.

*Char.* 'And then again, Popery is a Religion that does not go altogether in the *Old Fashion* Apostolical way of Preaching and Praying, and teaching all Nations, &c. But *scourging*, and *racking*, and *broiling* 'em into the fear of God. A Religion that for its own propagation, will at any time authorize its Champions to divest themselves of their Humanity, and act worse than Devils to be Saints.

These are dreadful Cruelties; but if this fierceness arise from any principle of rigour in the System of their Faith, methinks they should treat all alike; for if it be upon an Impulse of Conscience, it becomes a Duty. The Jesuits here in our *Covenant Persecution* were pretty good at this way of Discipline too. There was no *scourging*, *racking*, and *broiling*, 'tis true; but there was *plundering*, *sequestering*,

ing, starving, imprisoning, poisoning in Gaols, and refusing the Holy Communion to *Anti-Covenanters* upon their Death bed. There was a general Massacre propounded of all the Cavaliers that had been in arms, which I am well assur'd was carried but by one voice in the negative. There were upward of a hundred sequester'd Ministers crowded into a prison, where they knew there was a raging Plague; and, as I am credibly inform'd, there was not a thirtieth part of them came off alive. And for these Diabolical Actions the Persecutors were enroll'd into the number of the Saints.

*Char.* 'Nay (says he) the very outrage of Thefts, Murthers, 'Adulteries, and Rebellions are nothing to the pious Barbarities 'of a Popish King. The Murderer and Adulterer, may in time 'be reclaim'd by the Precepts of Morality, and the Terrors of 'Conscience. The Thief, by the dread of a Gallows, may become honest. Nay, the greatest Traitor, either by the fear of 'Death or the Apprehensions of Hell may at last Repent: But a 'Papist on a Throne has an unconfutable Vindication for all his 'Proceedings, Challenges his Commission, even from Heaven, for 'all his Cruelty he dares Act; and when all the Incantments of 'Rome have touch'd his Tongue with a Coal from Her Altars, what 'do his *Enthusiasms* make him believe, but that the most savage, 'and most hellish Dooms his blinded Zeal can pronounce, are the 'Immediate Oracles of God: fol. 13.]

If it had not been for *Popish King*, *Papist*, and *Rome*, I should have taken this last Paragraph for the Picture of a *Kirk-Conclave*. For first, though there was *Theft*, *Murther*, and *Rebellion*, abundantly in their proceedings: yet so Transcendent was the wickedness of their blasphemous *Bands* and *Associations*; so horrid the Forms of their Calling the *Searcher of all hearts*; with hands lifted up to the most high God, &c. to witness the joyning of themselves in a *holy Covenant unto the Lord*; (which *holy Covenant* was yet in the very first conception and intent of it, a premeditate Complottery to destroy That in *Effect*, which in *Terms* they swore to defend) All other sins (I say) were as nothing, in the Balance against this *Catilinary*, and bloody Sacrament. And so remarkable was the Reprobated Impenitence that follow'd upon it, as if the Devil himself had come in, to the Signing and Sealing  
of



of that *Religious Mockery*, both upon God and Man; and turn'd the *Hypocritical Covenant* into a *Magical Contract*.

As for those that took it with good meaning, or perhaps out of weaknels, and surpris; (though I my self was none of the number) I make no doubt, but that God hath given to many of them a true sence of their mistake; but for those that designingly, and frankly leagu'd themselves in that Combination; I am at a loss, even according to the largest allowances of Christian Charity, where to find three Converts; the Living persifiting still in the obligation of that Oath; and those that were taken off by the hand of justice, asserting it to the Death. 'I bear my Testimony, (says *Kid*, that was Executed in *Scotland*, as a Rebel; *Spirit of Popery*, fol. 7.) to the *Solemn League and Covenant*, as it was profess'd and sworn in *Scotland, England and Ireland*, in 1643. ' &c. And again, *Ibid*) Prelacy, as it is now Establish'd by a pretended Law, is destructive downrightly to the sworn Covenants; yea, not only Prelacy, Popery, Malignancy, and Heresie, but Supremacy; and every thing Originally upon, and derivate from it. And further (fol. 17.) The Three Kingdoms are Marry'd Lands; so I die in the faith of it, that there will be a Resurrection of Christs Name, Cause, and Covenant. And so likewise *King*, that was Executed in *Scotland* too, (*Id.* fol. 42.) I bear my witness & Testimony to our Covenants National, and Solemn League betwixt the Three Kingdoms; which Sacred and Solemn Oath I believe cannot be dispensed with, nor loosed by any Person, or party upon Earth; (And fol. 43.) I bear witness against the Ancient Christian Prelacy, &c. and against all Oaths and Bonds contrary to our Covenant, and Engagement, especially that Oath of Supremacy, &c. And so *Mitchel, Weir, &c.* See *Ravillac Redivivum*. They do all of them sing the same Note.

Now take all together; the deliberate wickedness of their first Resolve upon the Covenant; their prophane and daring Hypocrisie in the very Frame, and wording of it; the counterfeiting of Gods Authority for Sacrilege, and Rebellion in pursuance of it: and lastly, the maintaining and defending of all their impieties, to the last Gasps. A man may desie all the Story of the world, sacred and prophane, to shew any other Party of Men that were ever lost under so dreadful a dereliction. But yet there is something of a perverse Bravery in renouncing it at last, and after all their indignities put upon the God of Truth, in making

king some conscience yet of keeping Touch with the Spirit of Delusion. And now to finish the Parallel betwixt our *Dissenting Papists*, and his *Jesuitical*: We have our *Enthusiasts* too, that vent their Dreams and Vapours for Oracles. But to shorten the matter; *Bayl'es Dissuasive* will abundantly satisfy the Reader upon this Subject.

He passes from hence to a reply upon a supposition, [that such Laws may be made before-hand, as will make it impossible for a Popish King to set up Popery in *England*] But that (*says he*) would be like *hedging in the Cuckow*, &c. for who shall call this King to question for breaking these Laws, if he has the power and will to do it? This Question (*fol. 13.*) might serve for a piece of an Answer to a Contradiction he puts upon himself, *fol. 20.* which we shall handle in course.

If the Law has put it out of his power; there is no longer any place for the supposal of a power; unless by Foreign Force, which would presently improve a private Jealousy of Religion into the publick Rupture of a National Quarrel, to the almost inevitable, and irreparable Loss of his Reputation, his Friends, and his Dominions together. Now the other way, in case of his being injuriously excluded, it would be forty times more easy for Him to recover his Pretensions from abroad, by a Foreign Assistance, in concurrence with such an *English Interest*, as a generous Compassion to his Wrong, a Respect for his Person, and the Justice of his Title would certainly create him, than to erect an absolute Power against the Wills and Hearts of his People: and contrary to all the measures of Equity and Prudence. And to do all this too, while he might live and reign easily and comfortably to himself and his Subjects, within the limits of a Legal Administration.

And if he can never expect to gain this point, by calling in Auxiliaries from beyond the Seas: much less will he be able to do it, upon the bottom of his own Interest, and within himself: For there must go a great many more hands than his own to such a work. And to say that he may do it, by his Officers or Ministers, by the force of Gratifications, Pensions, or the Promises and Hopes of Preferment and Advantage: That Objection may be easily obviated: For it is a thing of clear and easy prospect: the Forming of such a Scheme of Laws for securing the Bounds of the Government, as no man that has

has either a Neck, or a Fortune to lose, will dare to violate.

But the bare Power, if he had it, would signify nothing neither: unless the *Will* as he says goes along with it. Now if he may *WILL*, he may *NILL* too: So that he is left at Liberty to make his Election either of the One, or of the Other, which has, in a great measure, discharg'd him of the pretended Impulse of Religion, and translated the Exception from the Papist to the Person: Founding the apprehension upon a pretended Foresight of Tyranny and double Dealing, in That Princes Character? which being a thing that is only to be seen with His Spectacles, and a Prognostick Peculiar to His way of Calculation, we'll go to the next.

'I will not deny (*says he ibid.*) but a Popish King may be totally 'restrain'd from all Power of Introducing Popery, by the Force of 'such Laws as may be made to tie up his hands: but then they must be 'such as must ruine his Prerogative, and put the Executive Power of 'the Laws into the hands of the People.] This shift does not at all either weaken, or avoid my Assertion, for the Kings hands are sufficiently ty'd, in holding the hands of his Ministers: And This may be done (so far as is necessary for This purpose) without any Diminution to his Royal Dignity. If the transferring of the Executive Power to the People, that is to say Deposing of him, would do the Job, the Character will shew us by and by, how That may be done, without need of New Laws, and in spite of Old Ones.

'But what Monarch (*says he*) will be so unnatural to his blood: So 'ill a Defender, and so weak a Champion for the Royal Dignity he 'wears, as to sign and ratify such Laws as shall entail That Effeminacy, and that Servility on a Crown as shall render the Imperial 'Majesty of England but a Pageant, a meer Puppet upon a wire? ] He does well to presume that a Prince will not Unking himself: but he would do better yet to keep himself clear from such Propositions and Principles as lead to that Deposing End. For whatsoever strikes at the Crown, in a Papist, falls, upon the Rebound, on the Royal Authority in a Protestant. ('But (*says he, ib.*) If no King will assent 'to make Laws to do it this way, and no Laws can do it 'other, 'all 'Laws against Popery, in case of a Popish Successor, are as I told 'you before, but building the Hedge, &c.] This Author seems to scrupulize more then needs upon the fear of Cramping the Prerogative: For he himself will shew us by and by how to do that without a Law, which he despairs of ever seeing done by one. If he had thought

thought of what the King has lately parted with out of his Prerogative, for the begetting of a Plenary Trust and Confidence in his People, he would not have despair'd of any Condescension from his Majesty, for the securing of his Subjects in their Properties and Religion after so much more done for them already than that, which is here propounded, amounts to. He tells us (*Jol. 14.*) of the danger of the *Popes Supremacy*; and I must tell him, that within the Kings Dominions, the Supremacy of the *Kirk* is every jot as dangerous. Wherefore let us look to our selves both ways; as well against those Papists, that did murder the *Last King*, as those other Papists that are in the Plot to destroy This. No doubt (*Says he*) *but the Fire that burns the Heretique Law-makers, shall give their Laws the same Martyrdom.* If they have power, 'tis probable enough that they will: But their's a great difference in the case, betwixt a Prince and his own Subjects, and the Pope, and *Stranger Heretiques*: The one destroyes his Enemies, the other, his Friends: The Pope is in *One Barque*, the *Heretiques* in another, and the one may sink, and the other swim; now the King being in the same bottom with his People, if he runs the Vessel upon a Rock, they are all cast away together.

*Ch. r.* With this certain prospect, both of the ruine of their Estates, Lives and Liberties, where lies the Sin in the Commons of England, to stand upon their Guard against a Popish Successor? *Aye, a Gods name let them stand upon their Gaurds, and use all expedients to keep out Popery and Tyranny; provided still that we preserve the sacred Succession in its right line, for that we are told, both King and People are obliged in conscience to defend and uphold.*

This clause has both more and less in it, than a body would imagine; and a man hardly knows either how to meddle with it, or how to let it alone. He begins with the assumption of a thing certainly prov'd; though without any colour that I can find, of making it out to be so much as *probable*; and barely *possible*, is the most that I can make on't. Nay, and it is not that neither, without imputing more of Rancour and Implacable Virulency of Nature to his Popish Successor, than ever any Man yet discovered, either before, or beside the Author of this Character. But however, upon that *substratum*, he takes up the Quarrel (as he would have it understood) of the Commons of England. *Where lies the sin* (*says*

he) in the Commons of England, to stand upon their Guard against a Popish Successor.] This is only a Gin set for a Woodcock, under the Equivoque of the Commons of England: so that if a Man speaks only to the Multitude, and he applies it to the Representative, there may be matter pickt out of it for an Enformation; Why, who says there's any sin in't? And then there's Guard and Guard. People are said one way to be upon their Guard with their Swords in their hands; and another way, with their eyes in their heads. But I presume he speaks to the multitude; and he speaks too in the Stile of Authority. Let them stand upon their Guard (says he) as if he were giving Orders. He might as well have said, Let them stand to their Arms: and his expression (of all expedients) expounds it so, even allowing him to be his own Interpreter; for the business is to keep out Popery and Tyranny. And he makes it one expedient, (fol. 2.) and an essential one too, to act the Offensive part as well as the Defensive; 'Provided' still (says he) that we preserve the Sacred Succession in its right Line; for that we are TOLD, both King and People are oblig'd 'in Conscience to defend and uphold.] That same little word TOLD, is a most Emphatical Mockery: and then, provided that the Succession be secur'd, all other expedients are pronounced lawful. Methinks he might have thought of a Proviso too for the securing of the Kings Honour, Dignity, Person, Government, and the Peace of his Dominions: which are, at the rate of his latitude of allowance, all of them equally concerned in the danger with the Succession.

He proceeds now to debate the matter of Conscience: And if we find him as Tender as he is Zealous; as good a Christian on the Subjects side, as on the Patriots; as careful to uphold the Sacred Character of Majesty, as to prevent the Excesses of Tyranny; and finally, as clear a Casuist, as he is a powerful Orator, there will be no contesting any further with him.

'Char. First then (saith he) let us fancy we see this Popish Heir 'on his Throne, and by all the most illegal and Arbitrary Means 'contrary to the whole Frame and Hinges of the English Government, introducing Popery with that Zeal and Vigour till his 'insatuated Conscience has perverted the King into a Tyrant.

What



What a phancy of a phancy is here ! that for want of fact and argument is fain to have recourse to Imaginations and Dreams. And to what end is all this, but by disgusting of the People at the ways of Providence, set them a hankering after State-Wizzards again, and Strange-Gods, for the knowledge of things to come ? wherefore let me once again inculcate that of 27 *Jer. Hearken not ye to your Prophets, nor to your Diviners, nor to your Dreamers, (which is the same with phansiers) nor to your Inchanters, nor to your Sorcerers, which speak to you saying, you shall not serve the King of Babylon. For they Prophesie a Ly unto you, to remove you far from your Land. Let us, for the Honour of our kind, either live and act and reason like Men, or else down upon all four, and away into the Woods and Rocks, and hunt and growl'd and tear one another to pieces like Beasts.* But we'll discourse the matter a little.

Well ! The *English* are certainly the Freest and the Happiest People upon the Face of the Earth. *Ay ; but we shall be all Slaves ere't be long.* When's that ? *When the Popish Heir comes to the Crown.* *Ay ; but when's that again ? When the King is dead.* Well, but when is the King to Dy ? *Nay, I cannot tell that.* How long has the *Popish Heir* to live ? *I cannot tell that neither.* Will the Queen have any Children ? *Nor that neither.* How long will the Queen live ? *How should I know that ?* Will the King survive her or not ? *I cannot tell.* Will he Marry again if he does ? *I cannot tell that neither.* Will he have any Children if he Marrys again ? *Who knows ?* But what if the Heir should not live to come to the Crown ? *but it may be he may though.* And it may be he may not. *Ay, but I PHANSIE that he will.*

Well ! But suppose he should come to the Crown. What then ? *Why then he will set up Popery and Tyranny.* Not whether he can or no. *Why, how did Queen Mary ?* She had the odds on her side ; for the *Papists* were then, in a manner, as the *Protestants* are now. And yet, coming in betwixt two *Protestants*, *Popery*, ye see, went off as it came on. *But still there was a Persecution.* 'Tis true, there was ; but all Princes are not alike. *Q. Mary* Persecuted the *Protestants* ; *Henry the Fourth of France* did not so. And it is as good an inference from the instance of *Henry IV.* that the *Popish Heir* will not be a Persecutor, as from that of *Queen Mary* that he will. *But where the Popes Authority intervenes, both King and People are bound to obey.* And yet you see that for all the Power of the *Pope*, and the

Covenant of the Holy League to boot, the People of France, though Roman Catholics, would not submit to the Dispossessing of a Protestant Successor; neither did that generous Prince, upon the Reconciling of himself, afterward to the Church of Rome, exercise any one act of Tyranny over his Protestant Subjects; which is enough said upon this point. Well, but I PHANST it will be Popery and Tyranny yet; for all this.

Well! but to go a little further with you, now suppose it should come to a down-right Persecution? Aye, but we must stand upon our Guards to prevent it. That would be more than ever the Primitive Christians did under the Ten Persecutions: And we have not only their Example, but their Express Doctrine against it. And we are never the better Protestants for being the worse Christians: So that here's only Phansy set up in opposition to Religion, Reason and Experience. And That's enough in all Conscience too: For there needs no more than the Flames of a distemper'd Spleen to cause an Earth-quake in the Government: What are Fears but Phansies? What are Jealousies but Phansies? What Original had they? Phansies again. And what was the Consequence of them? Sum up the Sins and the Calamities of the worst of People and of Times; Those Crimes and Those Miseries, were the effect of Those Phansies. They were Hay-riden and Night-mare'd with Goblins and Apparitions, and haunted in their Beds with the Images of those Visions and illusions which they had taken down from the Press and Pulpit waking. The brave Strassford was a Sacrifice to the Phansy of Arbitrary Power; and the Venerable Land, a Victim to the Phansy of Popery. They Phansy'd AntiChrist in the Hierarchy, the Rags of the Whore of Babylon in a Surplice; Popery in the Common Prayer; the Sacrament of Baptism they phansy'd a little better than an Exorcism; the Lords Prayed well enough for a Christian Prisoner, a School-boy Form that might do so so, till People came to be better gifted. When they had Phansy'd the Heads of these great men off their Shoulders, the Bishops out of the House of Peers; they went on Phansying still; They Phansy'd Episcopacy out of the Nation; and their Scottish Presbytery into it; the Clergy out of their Livings, the King himself and his loyal Subjects out of their Lives, Liberties and Estates; the Crowns, Churches, and the Peoples Monies into their own Pockets; the House of Peers into a Cypher or Nullity; the House of Commons into a Secret Committee; the Monarchy into

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a Republick; the Laws into Votes and Ordinances; their Committee into a Rump-Assembly; That Rump into a Protector, and that Protector again into a Committee of Safety. And all this was done by the Power of *Imagination*, and a strong *Phanſy* of *Tyranny* and *Popery*. And why may not all this be *phanſy'd* over again? But pray let me *Phanſy* a little on the other ſide.

Let us *Phanſy* his Majesty to Survive his Brother; Let us *phanſy* an Heir Apparent either by her Majesty in being, or by the providence of a Second Marriage; or the Successor to be a person of *Honour, Conſcience* or *Prudence*, whatever his *Religion* be: And that in *Honour* and *Conſcience* he will govern himself by the Tyes of his *Word* and his *Duty*; and that in *Prudence* he will not venture upon a Project so impracticable as an attempt of Subverting the Religion and Government, when every mans Neck shall lye at stake, that shall but dare to assist him in't; which might be sufficiently provided for by some previous Act that (ſaving the Kings *Prerogative* in the Case) might secure their not being pardon'd in That particular. We shall now Counterpoise Dangers to Dangers.

Here is a *present* opposed to a *future*; a *Certainty* to a *Possibility*; a *Greater* to a *Less*; and a *Protestant King* to a *Papist*.

The *Present* danger is the probable Effect of these intoxicating Methods to the *People*. If *Phanſy* was *Poyſon* to the Multitude, under the late King; the same *Phanſy* in a larger *Dose*, and with less *Corrections* to it; will be at least as strong a *Poyſon* to the *People* under This. If the Fact on the one side be true; the Reason on the other side is not to be deny'd. The dismal Calamities that enſued upon it I have ſet forth already.

Now what is there in the *future*, to weigh against the *Life* of the King, the *Safety* of the Church, the *Law* and the *Government*, the *Peace* of the *Kingdom*? There may possibly be a *Papish King*, and there may probably not. And that King may possibly have a *Will* to change the Government, but probably not, in respect of the very immorality of Inclining to such a Violation of his *Trust* and *Word*. But all most certainly *no*, in regard of so manifest an *Idol* to bring it to pass.

When

When I say a *Certainty*, I mean only a Natural Train of Events in the Application of *Actives* to *Passives*; which, in a high degree has taken place already: For the *People* are almost Raving mad at the apprehensions of these Stories; the Fever encreases upon them; and they grow every day *Hotter* and *Lighter-headed* than other. So that we are in Forty times a greater danger of a *Sedition* at hand, than of a *Popish Successor* at a *Distance*. As to the Balance of a greater danger, and a *Less*, we'll e'en take the matter as they suppose it. A King upon the Throne, that's *Principled* for *Arbitrary Government* and *Popery*; But so clogg'd and shackl'd with *Popular* and *Protestant Laws*, that if he had never so great a mind to't, there is not a Subject in his *Dominions* that would dare to serve him in his Design. But, on the other hand, there's no *King* at all, no *Church*, no *Law*, no *Government*, no *Magna Charta*, no *Petition of Right*, no *Property*, no *Liberty*, &c. *PROBATUM*. Beside that the *Phanfy* comes to no more in Effect, than if the sky fall we shall catch *Larks*.

But once again yet. Here's a *Protestant Prince* expos'd for fear of a *Popish* one. Is the *Chimera* of a *future danger* of more value to us than the *Conscience* of an incumbant and indispensable Duty? Shall we take pet at God Almighty's providence; and not go to Heaven at all, unless we may go our own way. Shall we Level a shot at the *Duke*, at a distance; if there be no coming at him but through the Heart of our *Sovereign*? Shall we actually break in upon the *Protestant* profession, which stands or falls with the *Church of England*, because the *Author* of the *Character* phantasies the hazard of a *Popish Religion* in the *Moon*; and by the unavoidable Consequence of a *Misgovernment* under this apprehension, draws the very plague upon us that we pretend to fear: While we thus go on, exposing both our *Temporal* and *Eternal* peace for shadows.

The *Writer* of the *Character* has most *Rhetorically* amplifi'd, in his *Calculations* upon his *Popish Successor*; but so *Overfix'd* the figure that when ever the people come to their wits again, they will look upon the story of *Gargantua*, as not much the less *Credible* of the Two: For his dangers are all out of *Ken*; his *Thunder* is in the *Clouds*; and the *Multitude* are all turn'd *Star-Gazers*, and gaping after ill-boding *Conjunctions*, and malevolent influences, while with him

him in the Fable, They are tumbling into a Precipice as deep as Hell, and take no notice of it. Here is a danger suggested; and such a means intimated for the prevention of it, as makes the Remedy worse than the Disease; for the very Expedient undermines the Government. But first, a word of the dangers on the other side.

There are several ways started for the disappointing of this inconvenience. One by *Attainder*, upon 23. & 13. of *Eliz.* Another, by a *Bill* in Parliament for *diverting the Succession*. And some of the Libellers fall down right upon a Third Proposal of the peoples preventing the Succession, though without or against Law. And Fourthly, either to expel the Successour, or to keep him out, in case of Survivorship.

To the first, of these ways I shall speak, when the point comes on. As to the second, which is matter of *Parliamentary Cognizance*, I reckon it my duty to acquiesce in the Legal issue of their Debates; as an Authority to which I have ever paid a Duty, and a Veneration. This only I shall take the freedom to say, that there is a vast difference betwixt their *Deliberations* that purely regard the prospect and interest of both Church and State, in what concerns the Popish and Protestant Religion; and the passionate exurgions of private men on the wrong side of the Parliament Doors, that chaunt themselves into the Controversie rather out of envy to the Person and fame of the Successour, than to promote the more important cause of Religion; (like men that crowd into a Church for company to pick a pocket) and this to, without any respect to the King himself, in the person of his Brother; or to the measures of duty to the Government. Now as to the two last ways of proposal, which are either for *prevention or exclusion*; I have this to say;

If there be danger from a popish Successour, during his expectancy, within the Kingdom; the danger is infinitely greater, if he be driven out of it. For, first, (as supposing it to be the peoples Act) There must be an illegal and popular violence to accomplish it; and there's the peace of the Government broken already. Beside, that the Authors of that Violence can never be secure, but by following it with more and greater. And this comes presently to be a natural Transition from a murmur against the Successour, to a Tumult in the State: In which Case, the King has only this Choice before



before him, either to part with every thing for the asking, or to stand the shock or a Rebellion. Now take it either way; here's much a greater mischief incurr'd, than that we feared; beside, a *Sanding-Army*, *Taxes*, and *Oaths* that follow in course; and a new Set of *Liberty-keepers*, and *Major-Generals* to preserve the peace. I speak this in the contemplation of a violence without a lawful Authority to back it; which is the thing that some people have in prospect.

This is the Scene of things at *home* and *abroad*; we shall undoubtedly see the Successours Interest and Reputation, encreasing daily, in regard of his *Sufferings*, his *Title*, and his *Religion*: having *Scotland* to friend, over and above: and probably, (as it is at present) the place of his Residence. But these are, as yet, all dormant Interests, and not to be employ'd, till either his duty to his Majesty, or Justice to his own pretensions shall require their Aid.

Take it the other way now: In the case of a *Papist King*, who is either *kept out* (as I said before) or *d. i. i. e. i. e. n. o. u. e.* from the exercise of his right, by the tumultuary licence of the Rabble; an Oath of *Abjuration* in case of any fair opportunity for him to assert his Claim with his Sword in his hand, will be so far from engaging any man against him, that yielded contrary to his conscience to swallow it for the saving of his stake, that he will find no firmer Friends to his Cause and Interest, than those men that are stimulated both by Honour and Revenge to the execution of their Duties. For there is no hatred so fell and deadly, as that which has for the object of it the Authors or Contrivers of our damnation; and the hazard is so much the greater, in regard of the difficulty to discover either the persons or the strength of their Enemies. And whether that King makes any attempt or no, the Nation must be at the charge, at least of a *defensive war*, and of Impositions to maintain it. And this will be the inconvenience even in the bare prospect of the state of the Nation without a blow striking. But from *Scotland* at least, if not from *Ireland* too, they must expect to be ply'd with continual Alarms, till the insupportable expence of guarding the Borders and the Coasts, shall make them as sick of their new Patriots as ever they were of their old ones; and force them at last (or, perhaps sooner than they are aware) to render themselves and their Spoil to the irresistible conjunction of so many Powers, as will be then Confederate to their destruction.

And

And then comes in the *Popery in earnest*, that was dreaded but in fancy before. When this new King shall by the proper act and forfeiture of a seduc'd and unforeseeing people, be deliver'd from the Fetters of both Honour and Laws; who brings in Popery then, but they that discharg'd him from those sacred Bonds by the folly and contumacy of their own inconsiderate Undertakings? Compare now the dangers of a Popish King bounded by Protestant Laws, and ruling over a Protestant People, where he may be as happy as an Imperial Crown, and the Affections of his Subjects, can make him. Compare (I say) a Popish King under these gracious and obliging Circumstances, in the quiet administration of his Government, with a Prince that is forc'd to make his way with his Sword for the recovery of his own, and is not onely prick'd on by the impulses of justice and vengeance, but animated by the Pope himself, and provok'd by indignation to take the utmost advantage of that foolish forfeiture, (the people themselves having cancell'd the Bonds of Authority and Obedience.) Let any man compare these two cases, and then speak his opinion.

There is one point yet behind, that goes further (I think) than any of the rest. If it be reasonable to believe (as we are often told, and no Mortal can deny it) that our Religion is an Eye-sore to the Church of *Rome*, and that this Island would make a considerable addition to our victorious Neighbours late Conquests; what way in the world could be propounded more to the advantage, both of the Crown of *France* and the Court of *Rome*, than the bringing of matters to the issue here in question, when in the powerful and liberal Assurances to this supposed King for the regaining of his own, the one and the other are but doing of their own business? This Prince in the mean while being led to the one by inclination, and overborn upon the other by Necessity.

Here's enough said to lay open the miserable effects of popular motions in matters of this high importance; and so I shall pass forward, submitting what I have said upon this occasion to the judgment and determination of my Superiours. The remainder of the last Paragraph above cited is fully answered already, save onely the Clause that I am now about to proceed upon.

*Char.* 'Whilest we are thus enslaved (says he) by a medly Government, betwixt Tyranny and Usurpation, by establishing a Pa-

pist on a Throne, we are so far from preserving the Crown, that is, the Imperial Dignity in a right Line of Succession, that we do not preserve it at all; but on the contrary, extirpate and destroy it, whilst by Enthroning a Papist, we totally Subvert and Depose the very Monarchy it self. And can it be the Duty of either Englishmen or Christians, to have that Zeal for a Corrupted, Leprous Branch of Royalty, that we must ruine both Religion, Government and Majesty it self to support him?

It is a strange way this of shewing a Mans Honour for his Prince, by blasting the very Bloud of his Brother; or of expressing his love to Monarchy, by treating Majesty, tho but in reversion, at so coarse a rate. But it is upon a Principle that may be supported by Impertinence and Heat; in regard that it will not bear the Test of a modest Debate; and a *corrupted, Leprous Branch of Royalty* is the dint of the Argument. But what does he mean to confound *Civil Power* and *Religion* thus, and impose upon the World a *Paradox*; that for want of rightly dividing, endangers both?

Government is matter of Publique and External Order; and a Divine Provision for the Peace, Comfort and Security of Mankind: wherein all the several parts are bound up in one Community, to attend the Interest and Conservation of the whole. Whereas *Religion* is the business of every individual apart, and only so far cognizable in a State, as it affects the Civil Power. What can be more gross than to talk of *fighting for Religion*? or to pretend to the maintaining of that by Arms, that is not liable to Violence? Did ever any Man hear of a *Religion* that was either *shot* or *cut*? Nor can there be any Confederacy or Association purely upon the score of *Religion*, for how shall People agree to defend they know not what? which is the very case when one Man undertakes for the *Religion* of another. If our Religion be assaulted by Argument, we may assert it by Redargution: But when the Opposition advances into any overt act, the case is no longer Religion, but Political Safety. Beside that Government is Gods Ordinance for the common benefit of Human Society, and of *Pagans*, as well as of *Christians*, without any regard to this or that Religion: for *Besides Politique* have no *Consciences*; but every particular indeed, stands or falls to his own Master.

I cannot but observe through what degrees the *Character* has advanced the *Popish* Successor. *First*, From the possibility of a good Man, and then from bad to worse; till he has made him (*fol. 14.*) a *Corrupted, Leprous Branch of Royalty*; and, at next word, a down-right Traitor, upon the Statutes of 23 and 13 of Queen *Eliz.* and another of *Hen. 8.* (*Fol. 15.*)

This matter being, (as I am informed) at present *coram Judice*, I shall say no more to it than this, that there are two *Proviso*s in the 5th of the Queen, that make the Case somewhat different from what he has stated it: As for Instance:

**Provided** alway, that forasmuch as the Queens Majesty is otherwise sufficiently assured of the Faith and Loyalty of the Temporal Lords of Her High Court of Parliament; Therefore this Act, nor any thing therein contained, shall not extend to compel any Temporal Person, of or above the degree of a Baron of this Realm, to take or pronounce the Oath abovesaid, (*viz.* of Supremacy) nor to incur any Penalty, limited by this Act for not taking or refusing the same, &c.

**II.** **Provided** also, that if any Peer of this Realm shall hereafter offend contrary to this Act, or any Branch or Article thereof, that, in that and all such Case and Cases, they shall be try'd by their Peers, in such manner and form as in other Cases of Treasons they have used to be Tryed, and by no other means.

It would be well if every Man that presses, with this unprecedented rigour, upon the Person here in question, would lay his hand upon his heart, and say, *if the King has pardoned me Ten Thousand times more than this comes to, with what Reason or Conscience can I importune His Majesty thus bitterly against His Brother?*

After all these Clamours about a *Popish* Successor, I would fain know how it is possible for any Man to be other than a *Papist*; in our present condition of Affairs. A *Church-of-England-Man* is a *Papist* to the Dissenters; a *Presbyterian* and an *Independent* so one to another; a *Quaker* to both; and among the *Eight Score* several Sects of *Hertiques* and *Schismaticques* that *Pages* and others, have

reckoned up since *Liberty of Conscience* came in Fashion; there are just so many sorts of *Papists* among them, in the Opinion of one *Sett* or another.

He has a Paragraph (*fol. 15.*) where, under the People of *England*, he expounds himself to mean their *Representatives*; which is a point I am not to touch upon: Only, I must confess, he has drawn the Arrow to the Head, in one expression in it. 'Why should not *they* (saith he) *the House of Commons*) be as active and vigorous 'for their own *Royal Inheritance*, and Sacred *Succession of Power*, as 'a King for *His*. What he means by this *Royal inheritance*, and Sacred *Succession of Power*, I shall remit to the Consideration of the Learned. (*Bradshaw* indeed pass'd a Sentence upon the *Late King*, as a *Traytor* to the *ROYALTY* of the *People*.) But the strongest Argument for himself that I find in the whole Book, is five or six Lines lower. 'If ever a *Papist* mounts this Throne (saies he) then all 'their Murmurs, their Petitions, Protesting and Associating-Votes 'will be remembered to the purpose. Now what can be a greater indignity to the Justice and Resolution of that Illustrious Body, than to imagine that so narrow a thought could any way influence the Candour and Solemnity of their Debates?

He spends his *sixteenth Page* upon Instances out of *Hen. VIII.* to prove the *Succession of the English Crown* to be wholly subjected to the *Disposal, Determinations and Limitations of Parliament*. How far his Assertion is right or wrong, I shall not concern my self. But however, as he has ordered the matter, it makes nothing at all for his purpose.

'The Parliament (he says) 25 *Hen. 8.*) settled the Crown upon 'the Heirs of that Kings body by *Queen Ann*; and in the 28<sup>th</sup>. 'Repealed that Act, and Entailed the Succession upon the Heirs of 'his body by *Queen Jane*; *Mary* and *Elizabeth* being declared *Illegitimate*. And in Case he Died without Issue, then the Parliament empowered him by the same Act, to dispose of the Succession by his own Letters Patents, or his Last Will. In the 35<sup>th</sup> Year of his Reign the Parliament granted the Succession to *Edward*; and for want of Heirs of his Body, to the Lady *Mary*, 'and the Heirs of her body; and for want of such Heirs, to the 'Lady *Elizabeth*, under certain Limitations and Conditions contained in that Act.

From



From hence he infers, that a Parliament may order and dispose of the Succession. But whether they may, or not; here's little or nothing prov'd from these Citations. First, under the ambiguity of the Word *Parliament*, he would have this thought to be the single Act of the Lords and Commons, when the Enacting Authority of it was solely in the King. And yet he says expressly that *Henry 8. was so far from submitting to Parliaments, that he would never have complemented them with a power that was not their due.* If that power did belong to the Parliament, what need'd they the King's authority for the making of it good; or to divest themselves of that power, by transferring it to the King, to dispose of the Reversion, or Remainder of the Crown, by his Will, or Letters, Patents, to such person as he pleas'd?

Secondly, These Statutes do not so properly transfer a Right as declare and notify the persons; for the prevention of disputes, and competitions; as appears by the Preamble to that of the 28th.

Wherefore, We your most humble and obedient Subjects, in this present Parliament Assembled, calling to Our Remembrance the great Divisions which in Times past have been in this Realm; by reason of several Titles pretended to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, which some times, and for the most part ensued, by occasion of ambiguity and doubts, then not so perfectly declared, but that men might upon howard intents expound them to every mans sinister appetite and affection, and posterity of the Lawful Kings and Emperours of this Realm; whereof hath ensued great effusion and destruction of Mans Blood, as well of a great number of the Nobles, as of other the Subjects, and especially Inheritours in the same. And the greatest occasion thereof hath been, because no perfect and substantial provision by Law hath been made within this Realm of it self; when doubts and questions have been moved and proponed of the certainty and legality of the Succession, and Posterity of the Crown, &c.

Now, so far is the intent of this Act from diverting the Succession, that the express end of it was the setting of it right, by the avoidance of a former Settlement upon the nullity of the Marriage

riage. And afterward, 26th of the same King, *cap. 2.* the Act here before mentioned is called, *The Act for the Establishment of the Succession of the Heirs of the King's Highness in the Imperial Crown of this Realm.* Now there's a great deal of difference betwixt translating the Succession from the wrong to the right, and the diverting of it from the right to the wrong.

Thirdly, this change and disposition of Settlement, tho it pass'd all the formalities of Bill and Debate, yet the first spring of it was from the certain knowledge of the Kings pleasure to have it so, without which they durst never have ventur'd upon such a Proposition.

Fourthly, Matter of Fact in this case is no proof of Right, and especially a Fact accompanied with so many circumstances of Cross-Capers and Contradictions, as the pronouncing of the same persons to be both *illegitimate* and *legitimate*, &c. And a man cannot imagine, without a scandal to that grave and wise Assembly, that the levity of those Counsels, and that humour of Swearing and Counter-swearing, could be any other than the *caprice* of their new Head and Governour.

Fifthly, with reverence to the Utility and Constitution of good and wholesome Laws, it is not presently to cite a Statute and say, *There's a Precedent*; for those Laws that are repugnant to the light of Nature and common Right, are Nullities in themselves.

Lastly, he brings instances here to prove, that a Parliament may divert the Succession; but he shews withall, that there can be no security even in that exclusion, in shewing that what one Parliament does, another may undo. So that we are now upon equal terms of security or hazard, either in the *exclusion* of the Successor, or in the *restraining* of him. For if he be tied up by one Parliament, another may set him at liberty; and if he be excluded by one Parliament, another may take him in again. But he that shapes his own Premises, may cut out what Conclusions he pleases.

*Char.* 'If then (says he, which no man in his right wits can deny) our Religion, Lives, and Liberties, are onely held by a *Protestant Tenure*; and the Majesty of *England* not onely by the force of his Coronation Oath, but by all the Tyes whatever, ought to be the Pillars and Bulwark of the *Protestant Faith*; and at the same time granting, that we have a Popish Prince to inherit the Imperial

perial Crown of *England*; he ought certainly in all justice as little to ascend this Throne, as *Nebuchadnezzar* ought to have kept his, when the immediate Blast of Heaven had made him so incapable of Ruling as a King, that he was only a Companion fit for Brutes and Savages. fol. 17.

It is true, that we hold the *exercise* of our Religion by a *Protestant Tenure*, with a respect to a *political union*: but every man holds the *Religion* it self that he ventures his Soul upon; not on the Tenure of Laws and Constitutions Humane, but on the Tenure of the divine will and pleasure: Providence having dealt so graciously with Mankind, that, albeit in our *Bodies* and *Estates*, which are only corruptible, and temporary, we lye exposed to Torments, Persecutions, Violence, and the Iniquities of Times and Seasons; Our *Nobler Part* is yet exempt from the Outrages, either of Men or Beasts; and our *faith, hope* and *charity*, treasur'd up, where *neither Rust nor Moth* doth corrupt, and where *Thieves do not break through and steal*.

As for our *Lives* and *Liberties*; we hold them by the Common Tenure of Government; the Common Right of men bound up in a Civil Society; and under the Protection of such and such Laws and Provisions, for the Common Benefit and Security of the Whole, and Every part: And all this, clearly abstracted from this or that Religion. In the cases of Treasons, Felonies, Riots, false Oaths, Forgeries, Scandals, and other Misdemeanours, that endanger the Publick peace; I do not find that the Law puts any Difference betwixt Criminals, because they are of several Religions; The *Protestant Tenure* of the King's *Judges* signify'd no more in the eye of the Law, than if they had been *Powder-Plot Jesuites*.

But to come now to his *Protestant Tenure*, and to close with him upon it too. (But as a Supposal not to be supposed.) If he means by this *Protestant Tenure*, the *Protestant Religion* of the *Church* of *England* as *Established by Law*; and that it is by this Tenure, that we hold our Religion, Lives and Liberties; it will concern us to support this Tenure; but in such manner yet, as the Law directs: For to set up a Tenure *without* a Law, or to assert a *Tenure against* a Law, will not be for the credit of our Authors Pretensions. If he means the *Dissenting Protestant Tenure*; He removes the Very Basis of all our Laws and sets up the Title of the Multitude against that of the *Government*.

And

And further; this *Protestant Tenure* of his, cannot be understood barely of the Doctrine of the Church of *England*; (as in Our Nine and Thirty Articles) for first, there are several points of them that are opposed and rejected by the Men that value themselves upon this Character; And Secondly, Our Laws fall not shorter in any thing perhaps, of so great Importance, than in the point of Competent Provisions for the Suppressing and Punishing of Heretical, and Blasphemous Doctrines. So that this *Protestant Tenure* must of Necessity have a Regard to the *Uniformity* of worship, according to the Forms, Rights, and Ceremonies by the Law in that case provided: And in this sence I must confess that our Lives, Liberties, and the Religion of the Government (tho' not directly, yet in a most Rational Consecution of dangerous Probabilities) lye all at stake. Wherefore again and again I say; let us joyn with our Author in the maintaining of this *Protestant Tenure*. For tho' the intent of it be only to intimate a Jealousy of Popery to the multitude; we shall yet find it, upon Examination, to have a *Loyal Aspect* toward the Government.

Here is an *Uniformity* prescrib'd; which is neither a *New* thing to us, nor an *Unnecessary*. Not a *New* one; for it has descended to us from the time of *Edward the Sixth*; and it was the only Expedient that *Queen Elizabeth* could find out, for the safety of her Person, and Dominions: That Excellent *Queen Elizabeth*, (as our Author says, fol. 17) *Under whose long and gracious Reign, England was so highly blessed.* Nay, and so sacred is the Providence of Order; that Notwithstanding all the fulminations of the *Pope*; and the Numbers; as well as the dangerous Practices, of the *Papists*, on the one hand; and the Impetuous Clamours and Importunities of dissenting *Protestants* on the other, Charging both her self and her Ministers with *Papist* practices and deluges. This steady *Queen* did yet (I say) preserve her Princely dignity, and the Reputation of her People; both at home and abroad; and at the same time, maintain her ground against two potent Factions; by standing firm to the Rules, and Methods of her Ecclesiastical Discipline. And it is Remarkable, that the state has still been more or less at ease in measure, as That Discipline has been either upheld, or Relaxed.

In *Forty* and *Forty one* this fence was thrown down; and I need not say, after the overturning of that Bank, what Monsters were bred out of the Mud, upon that Innundation. In the 14th. of his Majesties Reign, and after his blessed Restauration, This Uniformity was re-inforc'd; and in the 16th. follow'd an Act for *Suppressing Seditious Conventicles*. And now you shall see how much it behoves us to stand by our *Protestant Tenure*, and how far our Religion, Lives, and Liberties are concerned in so doing.

The Reformed, or Protestant Religion, both in Doctrine and Discipline, as it is settled by Law; is the *Protestant Tenure* here in question: And what Party soever enterprizes upon the worship here Establish'd, usurps upon this *Protestant Tenure*. It has been the wisdom of the Government, from time to time to require an *Uniformity*, in the manner and circumstances of our Worship; and upon what motives and apprehensions they were induced to observe those measures, will best appear from the Acts themselves.

To begin with the Act of 1 *Ed. 6.* it was intended for the gaining of an *Uniform, godly and quiet Order.* 35. *Eliz.* There was a Provision made for the preventing and avoiding such great inconveniences and perils as might happen, and grow by the wicked and dangerous practices of *Seditious Sectaries, and Disloyal Persons, &c.* Where it was made penal so much as to be present at a Conventicle. In the same year of the Queen, there was an Act against wicked and seditious persons, who termed themselves *Catholicks*, and being indeed *Spies and Intelligencers*, not only for her Majesties *Foreign Enemies*, but also for *Rebellious and Trayterous Subjects* born within her Highnesses Realms and Dominions; and hiding their most detestable, and devilish purposes, under a fair pretext of *Liberty of Conscience*, do secretly wander and shift from place to place within this Realm, to corrupt and seduce her Majesties Subjects, and to stir them to *Sedition and Rebellion, &c.* 3 *Jac.* An Act for discovering and repressing *Popish Reculants*, 14 *Car. 2.* The intent of this Act was the settling the Peace of the Church, and allaying the present distempers which the indisposition of time had contracted. Many People in the



the late Troubles having been led into Factions and Schisms, to the great decay and scandal of the Reformed Religion of the Church of England, and to the hazard of many Souls. And lastly, 16 Car. 2. An Act for suppressing Conventicles, providing for further and more speedy Remedies against the growing and dangerous practices of seditious Sectaries, and other disloyal persons, who under pretence of tender Consciences, do at their Meeting contrive Insurrections, as late Experience hath shewed, &c..

From these Citations we may collect both the intent and the necessity of an *Uniform Worship*, and upon what Considerations these Acts were made; and it appears undenyably from those Outrages that follow'd upon the Peoples breaking loose from this restraint, that the Lawmakers were not deceived in their foresight. Nor could any other be expected, but a liberty of *practice* after a licence of *profession*, and that after a dissolution of the Law there should be no longer any regard had to *Religion or Manners*.

But what do we talk of *Religion in a Tune*? The sounds of things and empty words, when they come once to be followed with flagitious actions and execrable effects? Was the Venom of the Covenant ever the less Diabolical for the holy Style of it? Will [*Your Majesty's most humble and obedient Subjects*] atone for the robbing and the murdering of their Sovereign? *Christ* and his *Truths* is every jot as good a Claim as a *Protestant Tenure*. And yet I'll shew you here the Contumacy of *Lucifer* himself under that Mask, and the very Soul of their *Hands-up-lifting Covenant*; which tho under the name of *Cargils Covenant*, is the *Old Covenant* still, onely a little rank with keeping.

*The last Speech and Testimony of WILL. GOGOR, one of the three desperate and incorrigible Traytors executed at the Grass Market in Edinburgh, March 11. 1681, for disowning His Sacred Majesty's Authority, and owning and adhering to these bloody and murdering Principles, contained in that execrable Declaration at Sanguhat, Cargils Traitorous Covenant, and Sacrilegious Excommunicating of the KING, by that Arch Traytor Cargil, and avowing of themselves to be bound in Conscience, and by their Covenant, to murder the KING, and all that serve under him; being Armed (the time they were apprehended) for that purpose.*

*Men and Brethren,*

**T**Hese are to shew you, that I am come here this day to lay down my Life for owning Christ and his Truths; and in so much as we are calumniated and reproached by lying upon our Names, and dreadful upbraiding of us, with saying, That we are not led by the Scriptures; and say, We have taken other Rules to walk by: I take the Great God to be witness against all and every one of them, that I take the Word of God to be my Rule, and I never designed any thing but honesty and faithfulness to Christ; and for owning of Christ and the Scriptures this day I am murder'd, for adhering to the born-down Truths I am condemned to die; and I also leave my Testimony, and bear witness against all the Apostate Ministers this day, that have taken favour at the Enemies hands, The onely thing they take away my Life for is, because I disowned all those bloody Traytors not to be Magistrates, which the Word of God casts off, and we are bound in Conscience and Covenant to God, to disown all such as are Enemies

mies to God, and which they are avowed and open Enemies to Christ; *And they have made void my word, saith the Lord.* Say what ye will Devils, say Wretches, say Enemies, say what ye will, we are owning the Truth of Christ and his written Word; and condemn me in my Judgment who will, I leave my Blood on one and all that say we are not led by the Scripture; I leave my Blood upon you again to be a Witness against you, and a Condemnation in the great day of Judgment. I have no more to say, I think this may mitigate all your rage; and so forth. I leave his Enemies to his Curse, to be unished into everlasting wrath for now and ever. *Amen.*

*Sic subscribitur Will. Gogor.*

Methtinks this *Specimen* of an *Enthusiastick Zeal* should make men wary how they deal with these *gilded Pills* after so *damm'd an operation*. And it is not to say, that this is the transport of a *mad man*; but it is the effort of the very Principle, and the whole strain of them that has been taken off by the hand of Justice, (not for *treasonous words* neither, but *actual rebellions*) have so behaved themselves at the last cast, as if the whole Schism were upon a vic who should damn bravest. These stories are no *Meal-tub Shams*; *Death and Damnation* are past fooling.

But how comes it that we that wear *Christ* in our Foreheads should carry *Antichrist* in our Hearts? and under the name of *Christians* walk so contrary both to the Doctrine, and to the Example of our suffering Saviour? As if the mere Profession of the Gospel did not only make void the Scope and Precepts of it, but extinguish in us the very Disposes of *right nature*; and then as Protestants under the pretended abomination of Popery to set it up; that is to say, upon impulse of Religion to do in any sort whatsoever a manifest wrong. Let the end be never so good, it must yet upon the score of Conscience be warranted by lawful means, and with such a regard to Prudence too, that the means we make use of toward a good end, may not be employed to a bad one. One man wishes a Reformation

tion in the Government, another skews himself in under the same Pretence, but to destroy it.

It would be endless and nauseous to farce up a Pamphlet with Citations, in a case where the whole Story of the World is so full of Precedents. How came it that *Hen. 8.* when he was suspected to be more than half a *Protestant*, proceeded so quietly and without *Opposition*, in Declaring and Limiting the *Succession*? and then that the Lady *Elizabeth* (his Daughter) being a profess'd *Protestant* and the Major Party of the People *Papists*, came to the Crown, without any considerable Objection to her Religion? We do not find, notwithstanding the Branded Apostacy of *Jerobam*, that made *Israel* to *Sin*, that his People yet laid hold of any pretence to Rebel against him. We do not read in the Story of *Eschelbert* King of *Kent*, upon his being Converted to *Christianity* by *Augustin* the *Monk*, that his Subjects, though *Pagans*, ever took up Arms against him for't. Nor that the *Pagan* Subjects of any of the *Other Saxon Kings* in their *Hierarchy*, opposed their Sovereigns, for Change of Religion; neither was there any Persecution on the Kings's Side, for matter of Religion. *Bonos principes* (says *Tacit.* *Hist.* Lib. 4.) *Voto expetere debemus, &c.* We are to pray to God for Good Kings, but to submit to them whatever they are. *Tertullian* (*Apolog.* 30.) *Christianus nullius est hostis, &c.* The *Christian* (says he) is no *Man's Enemy*, much less the *Emperors*: for knowing that he Governs by *God's Appointment*, he cannot but Love, Reverence, Honour and Wish him well, with all that belong to him, and therefore we pay that Veneration to him that belongs to him, as being next immediately under God; what he has is from God, and God is only his Superiour, &c. And so far were the *Primitive Christians* from opposing their Superiours, that they would not allow so much as a disrespectful word to be given them. There was no turning of Princes in those days, a grazing with *Nebuchadnezzar* among the *Beasts*; no calling of them *Gangren'd*, and *Corrupted*, *Leprous Branches of Royalty*. But the very *Apostles Canons* provided against those rude indecencies that reflect not only upon his *Papish Successor*, but upon all the *Crowned Heads of Christendom* of that Perswasion. *Quisquis Imperatorem, &c.* (says the Canon) *Whosoever shall speak ill of the Emperor, or of the Magistrate, let him be punish'd. If a Clergy-Man, Depos'd; if a Lay-Man, Excommunicated.*

But

But what needs this recourse to the Examples and Judgments of Antiquity for the clearing of Christianity in a case where the common Principles of Human Nature are sufficient to set us right?

*First*, There is the violation of a *Gospel-Precept*, in doing evil that good may come of it, As certainly the divesting of a Prince of his right, in an unwarrantable way of doing it, is a very ill thing. I speak all this while to the *Character of a Popish Successor*; which pushes on the People, hand over head, to the end, without that regard to the *Means*, which the Cause, I think, does require: But after this, when a lawful Authority intervenes, the state of the Question is quite another thing; for it is no longer *Religion*, but *Policy* that will be the Subject then in consideration.

*Secondly*, The admittance of this Position does in a Complement to Christianity, overthrow all Religion, and puts all Christians into a state of Hostility: for there are some *particulars*, undoubtedly, of all *Persuasions* that do firmly believe themselves to be in the Right. And then consequently, every divided Party is that to the other which a *Popish Successor* is to the Author of the *Character*. And at this rate Christians are in the worst condition of all Mortals, by making it a point of Conscience to Enter worry one another. To say nothing of the Scandal they bring upon the Gospel, by erecting this Rigorous and Sanguinary Doctrine upon the Foundations of Meekness, Charity and Peace.

And this Position does not only confound the Harmony that ought to be among the Disciples of *Jesus Christ*; but superinduces an utter Subversion of the Fundamentals of *Government* and *Obedience*. For to say that a Prince of another Faith may be Deposed, or Secluded for his Religion, does not only Authorize, but provoke a Prince of another Persuasion to render the same measure to his People; and it absolves both the One and the Other from the obligation of that mutual Correspondence which is necessary betwixt them for the conservation of the Community.

Nor is it all, that the *Maxim* it self is pernicious, (which many times is the ill hap of a fair intention;) but there is so gross a *Partiality* in the Conduct of this Character, that a Man must have a great deal more Charity than appears in the Author of it, to allow it so much as the possibility of a good meaning.

Here's



Here's a Clamour advanc'd in the Name of the *English Protestants*, against a *Papish Successor*. But upon what ground? *Because it is a Persecuting Religion*. Well! and what Religion is it in a Successor that would please them? *The Protestant Religion*. But the Religion of the Church *Protestants* will not please the *DISSENTING PROTESTANTS*; and then, 'tis impossible for the *Dissenting Protestants* to please one another; and as impossible for a Successor of any one Religion to please them all. But now which of these *Protestant Religions* must he be of? for there are a matter of Two Hundred Divided *Sects* that list themselves under that denomination. *Well! but if they be True Protestants they'll Unite against Popery*. Yes, As the Fellow united his Ratts, he put them all into a Tub together, and then they eat up one another. View them well, and you shall not find above three or four of them that have any consistence one with another. *And which are they?* nay, that's a Secret. But if *Popery* be so dreadful, because it is a Persecuting Religion; why is not the Writer of this *Character* asensible of 150 Persecuting Religions on the one side, as of One Persecuting Religion on the other? God preserve the Church of *England*, I say, from both. Or if that bitter Cup be our Lot, the Lord in his Mercy grant that we may not add *Sedition* to *Persecution*. It were no ill Embleme of the Original of our Late Troubles, to phancy a Man in a Fright, and leaping from a painted Lion upon a Wall into a Bed of Vipers. And no better are the pragmatikal part of the Revolters from our Communion; while in the mean time, Thousands and Thousands of the Credulous and Well meaning Multitude are by them inveigled to their destruction.

About the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> Page, the *Character-Man* is either laid down to take a Nap, while some other less skilful hand supplants his place; or else he writes on in his Sleep. And it would have been well, if all the rest too had been no more than a Dream. There is a Finical *Mawl-paw Spank* here about the Town, that takes a huge deal of pains to get himself suspected for the Author of this Book; he makes me think of a little Gentleman in a Yellow Coat, that would still be talking how rarely he plaid o<sup>r</sup> th<sup>e</sup> Organ; and this poor Wretch phancied that he made all the Musique, when it was his part only to draw the Bellows. He has done some very pretty things, they say, upon *Touzer*. But for this *Character*, I dare venture to be his Compurgator; at least to the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup>

Page. But further I dare not undertake ; for the next two pages and a half, a Man may trace them upon the Hoof to the very Ink-pot. His Story of *Paris's Mother*, (some body should have told him that it was *Hecuba*) that dream'd she was deliver'd of a Fire-brand. His Debate upon the Parallel betwixt the dis-inheriting a Private *Popish* Heir, and a *Popish* Successor. His Proposal of the Successors following *Curtius* into the Gulf ; the Thrid-bare Story of *Damocles's* Sword. And then his *Argumentum à fortiori*: These fragments might possibly be the Fruit of his own *Minerva*. But now, toward the bottom of the 19th Page we have the First Hand again.

*Char.* But to Sum up all ; (*says he*) if no reason must or shall prevail ; and that right or wrong a *Papist* must succeed : when all the inseparable Cruelties of *Pope* and *Popey* shall surround us ; suppose the worst that may be, that the dreadful approach of certain Slavery, so opposite to the *Free-Born Genius* of *England*, has exasperated them into a Spirit of Rebellion : What is it but the Pestilential Ayer of Reigning *Popey*, that bloats and swells them into that Contagion ? And if this *Popish* King Summons all his Thunder to punish them for't, what can the greatest Favourer of *Rome* make more on't, than that he warps them crooked, and then breaks them to peices because they are not streight. [ *Just as he serves his Popish Successor ; he draws ye the Picture of a Tyrant, and then Deposets him* ] 'And what's the whole Sum of a Revolting Nation under a *Popish* Tyrant ? but using a violent Cure to expel an Universal Poyson. *Fcl. 19.*

This Clause is only *Buchanan, Junius Brutus, &c.* Translated into *English*, and for brevity sake, a fair hint toward a Rebellion, and an Apology for it, both in one. As who should say, *If it must come to a Popish Successor the English Genius would never brook it, and there's no remedy but one, that is to say, a Revolt ; which they may even thank themselves for.* And then, up goes *Forty One* again ; the *Factions* dismount the *Government*, set up for themselves, and so go on, plucking down him still that is uppermost till they come from Reforming to Levelling ; and there is an end on't. I would he had not been so positive upon the *Free Born Genius* of *England* ; for we have been inveigled actually into a slavery under Cobblers, and tinkers. We that with so much Indignation at present, oppose our  
selves

selves to the bare Possibility of a Royal Successor. And that have Sacrificed three Kingdoms already to those degenerate fears.

*Char. But here (says he) will some pretended, Pious, Objector say; How shall we dare to Revolt? Remember we are Christians, and we must Obey, or at least yield a Passive Obedience to our King; be his Religion, Principles, or Government, never so Tyrannique, He is still the Lords Anointed, and our Native Sovereign.*

*I would ask (says he) what this Lords Anointed is. And who 'tis is our Native Sovereign. When instead of being free-Subjects, 'Pope and Tyranny shall rule Over us; and we are made slaves, and 'Papists?*

That Person is the *Lords Anointed* who by Gods Providence, and a Legal Succession of right to the Crown, is the Supreme Magistrate; whom, if we may cast off for Popery and Tyranny, we may depose at any time, by saying That's the Case: For 'tis but saying so, to make it so. Nay, and he goes further yet. For here's a Prince Depos'd, for fear he should be so; without any allowance for intervening Contingences. Or any Limits to the Extent of the Prospect. So that 'tis but the carrying on of our Jealousies to future times, and without any more to do, dissolve the Monarchy upon the self-same Contemplation. It would be as pertinent a question now, what are those *Free Subjects*, as what is This *Lords anointed*? If by this Freedom he would intimate an Exemption from the Law; His *Free-Subject* is a palpable contradiction. For in This Case he makes the *Lords Anointed* the *Subject*; and his *Free Subject* the *Lords Anointed*.

*Char. 'We are bound indeed (says he) by our Oaths of Allegiance to a constant Loyalty to the King and his lawful Successors. 'Very Right. By that Oath we are bound to be his lawful Successors Loyal Subjects; but why his Loyal Slaves? Or how is an 'Arbitrary, Absolute Popish Tyrant any longer a Lawful Successor to 'a Protestant Establishd, and bounded Government? When lawfully 'Succeeding to this limited Monarchy, he afterwards violently, 'unlawfully, and Tyrannically overruns the due bounds of Power, 'dissolves the whole Royal Constitution of the Three Free-States.*

of England, and the Subjects *Petition of Right*? whilst wholly abandoning those Reins of Government, which were his Lawful Birth-Right, and making New ones of his own Illegal Creation, he makes us neither those Free-born Subjects we were, when we took that Oath, nor himself That King we swore to be Loyal to.

What have we here but a *Jesuitical* Dispensation for the breaking of an Oath, and slipping our Necks out of the Collar of our Allegiance by a *Mental Reservation*? First, We swear in this Oath (as in all others) to the Sense of the Authority that imposes it. And can any body imagine that the Government impos'd this Test of Allegiance upon the People, to leave them still at Liberty to play fast and loose with *Reserves* and *Qualifications* of their own. And so frustrate the main intent of the Oath, by accommodating the Exposition of it for the serving of a Turn, or a Faction? The Oath binds them to Subjection; and they absolve themselves of That Subjection by giving it the Name of Slavery. And so every man is left at pleasure to take off his own Shackles. But what if it were Slavery it self? The Prince were to blame for straining his Authority, but the Subjects nevertheless Criminal, on the other side for withdrawing their Duty.

He has found a Loop-hole to evade This Oath, by turning *SUBJECTS* into *SLAVES*. But That will not do his business, without turning a *Lawful Successor* to a *Protestant Establish'd and bounded Government*, into an arbitrary, absolute, Popish Tyrant. In which supposition he holds forth This Doctrine to the People; that in This Case, there is a Forfeiture of the Government; and that this is the very Case which we have now before us; wherein, contrary to Law, Reason and the Fundamental Essentials of all Government, he does, as much as in him lyes, authorize and incite the Multitude to a Sedition.

I answer, that the Law is clearly against him; for tho the Prerogative is bounded, the Duty of the Subject is yet left unconditional, there being no Law, nor so much as the colour of any, in case of the Kings passing his legal Limits, to absolve the People of their Allegiance. And it is not the Plea of Provocation, or the exercise of a  
Tyrant.

Tyrannical Power, that will save the Subject from the Sentence of the Law, in case of any disloyal act of Assault or Resistance.

It is against Reason likewise, that the Inferiour shall overrule the Superiour, and invert the last Resort of Decision and Judgment from the Prince to the Subject.

It is, lastly, destructive of Government it self, to suppose such a Reserve in a Political Constitution, as carries the last Appeal to the People, which is the case in this Proposition. The King as a Trustee that abuses his power incurs a Forfeiture, (as our Author will have it) of that Trust; and so all subordinate Trustees may incur the like Forfeiture, till all Communities are melted down again into the ridiculous conceit of the Original Sovereignty of the Multitude, which is only a Chaos of Anarchy and Confusion.

He is over again here with the *Royal Constitution of the three free States of England*; which must be understood either of the Lords Spiritual, Temporal, and Commons; or of the King, Lords, and Commons, reckoning His Majesty to be one of the three Estates. Take it the former way, and instead of *Your Majesty's Loyal Subjects the Lords and Commons in Parliament*, (which was the style even of the last Rebellion it self) the Petition should run t'other way, and say, *The humble Petition of Charles the second, to your Majesties the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons assembled in Parliament*. Now take it as accounting the King to be one of the three Estates, that *Imaginary Coordination* leaves him at the mercy of the other two whensoever they please. The Learned and the Right Reverend Bishop of Lincoln, in his *Discourse of Popery*, pag. 4. *England* (says he) is a Monarchy, the Crown Imperial, and our Kings Supreme Governours, and sole Supreme Governours of this Realm, and all other their Dominions, &c. In our Oath of Supremacy we swear, *That the King is the Only Supreme Governor, Supreme, so none (not the Pope) above him; and Only Supreme, so none Coordinate or equal to him*.

The *Character* brings in the Subjects *Petition of Right* for a further countenance to his pretension; but what noise soever it makes in the ears of the people, there is not one syllable in it that appears in his favour. And yet once again upon the presumptions aforesaid he grounds this Assertion, That in such a case neither is he the same King that we swore to, nor we the same Subjects that took the



Oath. If this be not *Rome against Rome*, and *Popery against Popery*, I know not what is. But at the worst it is but paraphrasing upon the Oath of Allegiance as they did upon the Covenant. Give me leave now to retort the Argument. His Popish Successor will be a Tyrant, (he says) for it is a Tyrannical Religion. But after all the fires of irreverent Language upon his R. H. he cannot charge any thing in the world upon him, that looks that way, in his inclination. But yet here's enough (says he) to conclude the Reason and the Necessity of his Seclusion. The Compiler of this Character would take it ill now, on the other side, if a man should say that his very argument against the Duke, holds as true against the Author of the Character. For that *Dominion is founded in Grace*, is the Principle both for which, and by which he pretends to Supplant the Successor. Now why may we not apprehend Sedition from the one, as well as Tyranny from the other? Nay and with more Justice too; considering that there is but a bare Contemplation the One way, and the Practice of an enflaming Discourse over and above that Contemplation, the other.

*Coar.* 'But alas! (says he) that Bug-bear, *Passive obedience*, is a Notion crept into the world, and most Zealously, and perhaps as ignorantly defended. Fol. 20.

This Period brings him well nigh to his Journeys end: For, till now, he contented himself with only opposing the primitive Practices, and the Common Principles of Christianity, in justifying a *Violence*, upon an Impulse of *Religion*; But the making of *Passive Obedience* only a *Bug-bear*, and the Defence of it an effect of *Ignorance*, brings it home to the very person of our Saviour, and to the Doctrine that was delivered by those Holy Lips. 'So far (says the Learned Prelate above mentioned, Pag. 55.) was St. Paul from believing those Popish Rebellious Principles, (*Denying the Superiority of the Civil power*) and from Disloyalty or Disobedience to that Imperial (tho' Pagan) Power under which he Lived; that he publickly acknowledged, and humbly submitted to it. Nor was he only in his own Person Obedient, and a Loyal Subject to the Emperor, but (writing to the Romans) he did, as an Apostle of Jesus Christ, command them also to be Loyal and Obedient. Let every Soul (every man) be Subject to the Higher (the Supreme) Powers, &c.

And

And then he adds, that they should render to them Tribute, Custom, Fear, Honour, and all their Duties. By *Supreme Power* there, he means men possessing Supreme power, and the Supreme power, under which He and the *Romans* then were, was *Nero*, a most *Impious Pagan*, and *Persecutor of Christ, and Christians*; and yet every Soul within his Empire, (even *Peter* as well as *Paul*) was (by the Law of God, and the Gospel) to be Subject to Him, to Fear, Honour, pay him Tribute, and Legally obey him. Nay the same reverend Prelate, (Pag. 54) in confirmation of this Doctrine, cites the Precept of our blessed Saviour himself, as well as *St. Paul*. Our blessed Saviour (Says he, whose Vicar the Pope pretends to be) does himself pay Tribute to *Cesar*, (Tho' a *Pagan*, and *Idolater*) leaving us an Admirable, and most Pious Example of that obedience, and Loyalty due, even to *Impious and Pagan Princes*: Nor is this all; for he further gives express Command, that all should render to *Cesar the things which are Cesars*. He acknowledgeth the Imperial rights of *Cesar*, of which his *Impiety and Idolatry* did not deprive him.

Our Author said but just now, that *Passive Obedience* was no more than a *Eug-bear*, and a Doctrine groundless, and only slip't into the world as by the *By*. But he tells us now (Fol. 20. toward the bottom) that in case of a *Vow'd Allegiance to an Absolute and Arbitrary King*, a *Passive Obedience* was due: But what's this (says he) to a *King of England*? With his leave I take it to be the same thing as to the Peoples Obedience, or Submission; tho' in respect of the assuming, and Exercising that Power, the Case, on the Kings side, is greatly differing; for the question is not whether the King does Well or Ill in forcing his Authority beyond the due bounds, but whether the Tyranny, on the one side, will justify an undutiful behaviour, on the other? And the Law it self will easily determine This Controversy. If the Subject be ty'd up by the Law to an Allegiance unconditional, (as aforesaid) and without any Exception, or qualification, to discharge him of that Duty, in any Case whatsoever, the Cause is clear against him. And this is enough said to shew, that under the Masque of a zeal to crush one Sort of Popery, there is a design Carried on for the introducing of another. See now what he says of *Monarchy*.

Monarchy.

‘Monarchy (*says he fol. 21.*) can be acquir’d but by two ways. *First*, By the Choice of the People, who frequently, in the beginning of the World, out of a natural desire of Safety, for the securing of a Peaceful Community and Conversation, chose a Single Person to be their Head, as a *Proper*, Supream Moderator in all Differences that might arise to disquiet that Community: Thus were *Kings* made for the *People*, and not the *People* for *Kings*.

This Principle of *Popular Liberty*, and placing the *Original* of Government in the *People*, is highly derogatory to the Providence of God; contrary to the *express* Letter of the Text, and destructive of the very Being of Human Society, *First*, By implying Mankind to be cast into the World unprovided for. *Secondly*, It makes *Magistracy*, which the Apostle tells us, (*Rom. 13. 2.*) is the Ordinance of God, to be of *Human Institution*, or at best, *Nature’s second Thought*; but in truth, an effect either of *Tumult* or *Chance*, according as Men were led to’t either by *Choice* or *Necessity*. *Thirdly*, in supposing *Power* to be radically in the *People*, and the grant of it to be only an act of conveyance by common Consent, and with a power of *Revocation*, upon certain equitable Conditions, either *express’d* or *imply’d*; there goes no more than the *Peoples* recalling of their *Power*, to the dissolving of all Communities; and *Humane Society*, at this rate, lyes at the Mercy of the *Multitude*. But how this *Revocation* shall be notify’d, unless by way of *Advertisement* in one of the *True Protestant-Anabaptist-Mercurys*, I cannot imagine.

But then consider again, That this *Grant* and *Revocation* must Pass with a *Nemine Contradicente*; nay, and a *Nemine Absente* too: for one single *Dissim*, or the want of one single *Vote*, spoils all; and makes void both the *Original Grant*, and all that was done subsequent upon it: for by reason of that defect, it is no longer the act of the *People*.

It may put a Man in admiration, to see what Credit this *Phantastique* and *Impracticable Conceit* has got in the World, if he does not observe the Address in the *Application* of it, and the use that is made of it. All violent *Motions* of State (we see) are wrought and brought about by the Favour and Assistance of the *People*. And there can be no readier way in the World to make them sure, then either to calumniate, or otherwise to lay open the Nakedness

kedaeſs of the Government, and to tell them that *Printes* are only *Truſtees* for the *Peoples* good; the *Sovereignty* in *themſelves*; and that if *Governours* break their *Truſt*, the *People* may reſume their *Power*. When the *Multitude* has once imbib'd this *Doctrin*e, the next work will be to ſet up for the recovery of their *inheritance*: and when it comes to that once, we need but look behind us to ſee the end on't.

Our Author has already admitted, (upon this miſtake of the Fountain of *Power*) that the *People* may yet paſs away their *Original Right*, without *power* of *Revocation*. Here indeed, (ſays he, ſpeaking of a Conceſſion of *Absolute Power*) a *paſſive Obedience* was due; but what's this to a *King* of England? Now though the *Doctrin*e of this Paſſage (fol. 20.) ſeems to claſh with an *Equity* of *Reſumption*, reſerved to the *People* in the laſt Paragraph above-recited, (fol. 21.) I ſhall yet lay no hold of that implication, but turn the force of his own allowance againſt himſelf. If the *Peoples* alienation of their *Power* to a Prince, without conditions, ſhall ſtand good againſt them; ſo ſhall the alienation of their *Power* alſo to a Prince, under conditions, ſtand every jore as good, within the limits of thoſe conditions. And where ſhall we find thoſe conditions, but in the *Eſta bliſh'd Law*, which marks out the bounds, both of *King* and *People*? Now if the *Law* pronounces the *King* to be *Supream* in all *Cauſes*, and over all *Perſons*, &c. and yet with ſome Limitations and Reſtraints upon his *Prerogative*: Suppose he paſſes thoſe *Terms*, who ſhall judge him, but God if he be *Supream*, and has no other *Power* above him? Or if the *People* have reſerved, in ſuch a caſe, any controuling *Power* to themſelves, how comes it that the *Law* takes no notice of it; but on the contrary, makes the Subjects accountable for any act of *Diſobedience* or *Violence* to, or upon the *Perſon*, or *Authority* of the *King*, upon what pretence ſoever? So that under the colour of *oppoſing* or *preventing* an *Arbitrary Power*; the *Law* is ſubverted (here) at a blow; and a Foundation laid of the moſt pernicious and ſhameful ſort of *Tyranny*.

He ſays that *Kings* were made for the *People*, and not *People* for the *Kings*, which is well enough, if he means that *Kings* were made for the Government of the *People*, which is the great Bleſſing of *Mankind*; and not *People* for the Government of the *King*; which turns *Society* into *Confuſion*.

But

But after all these words, to shew that Government Originally was not *Popular*; I shall add a few more, to prove the Institution of it to be purely *Divine*: which opinion, in truth, needs not any other Support, than the Authority of the Holy Scriptures. *By me Kings Reign, &c. I have made the Earth, the Man, and the Beasts that are upon the Ground by my great Power, and my Outstretched arm, and have given it to whom it seemed meet unto me, Jer. 27. 5.*

That which we now call *Kingly Government* was at first called *Paternal*, and after that *Patriarchal*, &c. And we find, by the Powers they exercised (as *Life and Death, War and Peace, &c.*) that their *Paternal Power* did Then extend to all the Acts of our *Regal Power*; The Objection is, could there be a *King* without a *People*? Which is all one with the Supposal of a *Father* without a *Son*. But This does not at all conclude that *Adam* had not both a *Regal* and a *Paternal Power*, before he had either *People* or *Children*, actually to govern, and exercise it upon: It being a thing so consonant also, to the Methods of the *Divine Wisdom*, to supply him previously with all needful Abilities and Authorities for the Discharge of his Fatherly and Governing Office: The whole Race of his Posterity, lying open, even before they had any Existency in Nature, to the Omniscience of God, with whom there is no *PAST* or *FUTURE*, but all things, always *PRESENT*.

Again, if *Adam* did not bring his Authority into the World with him, when did he receive his Commission? Or, if he had none at all, how could he justify the Arbitrary Rule he exercis'd over those People that were only his Fellow Subjects, - under the same God, and without any Subordinate Ruler over them? Or if *Adam* was vested with a Right of exerting the Power he exercis'd; how came our Authors Imaginary Multitude to chuse a Governor of their own, in opposition to the appointment of Providence? Or who absolved them from the Bonds of their filial and primary Duty and Obedience?

What he says afterward of *Conquest*, (which he calls his Other Acquisition of *Monarchy*) serves only for an occasion to tell us, that our Last *Norman Conquest* was little more than a Composition: which is an error and nothing at all to the point here in hand, which re-

fers



fers only to the constitution, and Settlement of the Government; as now it stands, without any respect to the manner of acquiring it. But he is now drawing to a conclusion.

*Char.* 'If now at last, (*says he*) *Popery* must and shall come in, (as by law it cannot) and consequently must be restored by Arbitrary Power. If a new *Monarchy*, then a new *Conquest*, and if a *Conquest*, Heaven forbid we should be subdu'd like less than *English-men*; or be debar'd the Common Right of all Nations, which is, to Resist, and Repel an Invader, if we can, fol. 21.

This is spoken upon the supposition of a *Popish Successors* coming to the Crown, whom he calls an *Invader*; (though qualified with a *Legal Title*) and he encourages *Violence* against him, tho' in this case the *Law* pronounces him a King: and this *Resistance* to be made like *English-men* too, that is to say *English-men* of the late stamp. So that there goes no more (I perceive) to the destruction of a *Lawful Prince*, but to say that he either is or will be this or that: And the King himself stands in as much danger, upon the admittance of this Principle, as his Royal Brother.

But before Subjects proceed to these terms, which without a legal Authority are criminal in any case whatsoever, Malice it self will not deny, but that there ought to be an infallible certainty of the Inconvenience: whereas (as I have said before) this is a case lyable to many disappointments; the prospect of it remote, the expedient unwarrantable, and the danger it self at last not so mortal as it is represented. He supports his presumption upon this ground for granted, that a *Popish King* must do whatsoever the *Pope* will have him do, and submit his people to the *Tyranny* as well as the *Religion* of the Church of *Rome*. What does he say to the *French Kings Pyramid* then, and the vindication of himself and his people in divers other cases, from the Insults of *Rome*; and to several other instances already given in this particular?

*Char.* 'But to sum up all this (*says he*) I must say, the most vehement Disputants against the Peoples right of defending themselves, must at length acknowledge thus much, that whenever a *Popish King* shall by *Tyranny* establish the *Popes Jurisdiction* in Eng-  
L. land

'*Land*, undoubtedly in the eye of God he is guilty of a greater sin than that People can be, that with open Arms oppose that Tyranny. *Fol. 22.*

This is a clause of double consolation: First, to the *Author*, that this *Papish King* shall be damn'd the deeper of the two. And, Secondly, to the *People*, that they shall go to the Devil in good company.

*Coar.* 'The very Essence (he says) of a *Popish Successor* is the greatest Plot upon *England* since the Creation; a Plot of God himself to scourge a Nation, and make three Kingdoms miserable.

This must be a very great Plot, if it be the greatest Plot that we have seen even in our days: a Plot upon our Laws, and it subverted them; upon the Church, and it destroyed it root and branch; upon our Estates, and it took them away by violence; upon our Liberties, and it enslav'd us; upon our Lives, and it was made death to do our Duties. It was a Plot that left us no other choice in many cases but Death or Damnation.

If I had ask'd my revenues (says the late King, *Ein. Bar. self. 24.*) my power of the Militia, or any one of my Kingdoms, it had been no wonder to have been denied in those things, where the evil policy of men forbids all Restitution, lest they should confess an injurious Usurpation. But to deny me the Ghostly comfort of Chaplains, seems a greater rigour and barbarity then is ever used by Christians to the meanest Prisoners, and greatest Malefactors, whom, tho' the Justice of the Law, deprives of worldly Comforts, yet the Mercy of Religion allows them the benefit of their Clergy: as not aiming at once to destroy their Bodies, and to Damn their Souls. But *My Agency* must not be Reliev'd with the Presence of any one Good Angel; (for such I account a Learned, Godly and Discreet Divine; & such I would have all Mine to be;) They that envy my being a King, are loth I should be a Christian, while they seek to deprive Me of all things else; they are afraid I should save my soul.

Has the Author of the *Character* heard of this Un-Christian Barbarity toward a Prince of the most Exemplary Goodness and Piety (one of them) that ever liv'd: And how he was yet, after all this, Murder'd on a Scaffold, in the Name, and under the pretended *Sovereignty* of the People of *England*? How has he then the hardness of Heart to set up that *Regicidal* Principle afresh; and to pronounce the Government of a *Papish Successor* to be a greater Plot upon *England*, than the Execrable Blood-shed of that *Protestant Prince*? And yet he carries it one step higher. A Plot of God (he calls it) and at the same time lays the Foundation of it in *Hell*, and most Heroically opposes it. From hence to the end both of the *Page* and *Book*, there's only more variety of flourish to the same purpose.

**M**Y pretending to Answer this Discourse, looks methink, as if a Man should Reply upon an *Almanack* (for several Years to come) it runs altogether upon *Phantasys, Suppositions, Predictions*, &c. And there's no disproving of a *Prognostication*; nor hardly any reasoning against it; but so far as it is Calculated according to Rules of *Art*: And wheresoever I have found any thing that looks like a *Logical Connexion*, I have spoken to those Passages what I thought convenient. But for the rest; my business has been to encounter the drift of it, and to expound the danger of these present *Jealousies*, by referring *People* to the miserable effects of the same *Jealousie* in the Late Times. It is an easie thing for *People* to foretel Calamities and Judgments of their own Contriving.

There is not any Man Living that more passionately desires the Ripping up of this *Dam'd, Hellish Plot* to the bottom, than my self; but I must confess withal, that I am for Suppressing the *Malice* of *Tongue*, as well as the *Name*; and utterly against the Darning of any *Position* in a *Papist*, that I practice my self. The best way to discover a *Jesuite*, is by his *Principle*; for it is the *Doctrine*, and not the *Order*, or *Dénomination*, that creates the Danger. So that we are never the nearer for rooting out the *One*, unless we purge ourselves also from the Leaven of the *Other*. Which will be the only safe way of facilitating a Comprehensive Union of those *Conscientious Dissenters* that wish well to the *King* and his *Government*. And in Order to this Discrimination, I shall give the Reader here

82.      *The Character of a Papiſt, &c.*

a Taſte of the Harmony and Agreement betwixt the *Yeſuites* of the *Society*, and thoſe of the *Covenant*. That is to ſay, ſuch other *Yeſuites*, as, under the Cover of *Diſſenting Proteſtants* take advantage of the Credulity and Weakneſs of the *Common People*, toward the working of Diſtempers in the Nation.

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*Popiſh*

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# Popish and Jesuitical PRINCIPLES.

**D**ominion is founded in Grace; (says the Romish Jesuite) and upon That Principle, Deposeth Protestant Princes. But the Covenanting Jesuite is even with him, and upon the same Principle deposeth Popish Princes: as Knox and those of the Congregation in Scotland depos'd the *Queen Regent* (Camden's *Eliz. An. 1559*) Penry told the Lord President of Wales, That without advancing the Presbyterian Discipline he could have no Commission to Rule there; for having rejected Christ, he was but the Lieutenant of Satan. And our Character does pretty well too, in ranking a Popish Prince with *Nebuchadnezzar*, fol. 17.

The Pope may deprive a King of his Royal Dignity for Heresia, Schism, &c. (B. of *Lincoln's Popish Principles*, pag. 20.) and after Excommunication (says *Mariana*) in case of Obstinacy, the People may take away his Life. Now says the Covenanting Jesuite; All men as well Magistrates, as Inferiors, ought to be Subject to the Judgment of General Assemblies (See *Bishop Bramhal* pag. 501.) Ministers (says *Buchanan de Jur. Reg.* page 70.) may excommunicate Princes; and when they have cast them into Hell, they are not worthy to live any longer upon Earth.

*Pius Quintus* absolv'd the Subjects of *Q. Eliz.* from all their Oaths of Allegiance to her for ever. And now (says *Knox* to England and Scotland) If Princes be Tyrants against God and his Truth, their Subjects are Free from their Oath of Obedience. And our Jesuitical Covenanters did the same thing too, with a Penalty, in abolishing the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, and setting up their Covenant.

We



We command (says the same *Pius Quintus*) all the Peers, People and Subjects of England not to pay any Obedience to the Queen, her Commands, or Laws. And was not this the same thing that our Covenanting Jesuits did, in commanding upon pain of Imprisonment, and Sequestration; not to obey the Kings Proclamations, and in making it Death without mercy for any man that had taken the Covenant to go, without a Pass into the Kings Quarters?

Pope PAUL 3d. Interdicted all publick Prayers for Henry 8. or his Adherents, after his Denial of the Popes Supremacy to the whole Nation. And did not our Scottish Jesuits the same thing in refusing to to pray for the Mother of King James, when she was in her Distress though the King desired it? and did not our English Covenanting Jesuits make it Malignancy and Sequestration, to pray for the King in their Churches?

If a Clergy-Man Rebel against the King, it is no Treason (says Emmanuel Sa) because Clergy-Men are not the Kings Subjects. The Jesuits of the Kirk told King James, That He was an incompetent Judge of Matters in the Pulpit, which ought to be exempted from the Judgment and Correction of Princes. And the Assembly brought off Gibson and Blake, for Curfing and Railing at the King in the Pulpit, upon the same Plea. And the Late King had as little Remedy for Treason deliver'd in the Pulpits here.

The Papal Power (says Scieppius) is Supreme, and the Pope has a Right to Direct and Compel, and a Power of Life and Death. And did not Our Jesuits in the Assembly, and the Two Houses Practice the same Usurpations in 1642? Does not the Kirk, in the Cases of Blood, Adultery, Blasphemy, &c. take the Pardoning-Power out of the King's Hand? Did not the Scottish Jesuits in 1638. Protest against Proclamations, make void Acts of Parliament, Levy Men, Monies and Arms, for the Glory of God, and preservation of Religion? Kings Declaration. Pag. 415. Do they not claim Power to Abrogate and Abolish what Statutes and Ordinances they please, concerning Ecclesiastical Matters? See Bishop Bramhall, Fol. 497. &c. And in short, in ordine ad Spiritualia, take into their Cognizance all matters whatsoever.

*Sanvez*, approves of a *Subject's* killing his Prince in his own defence ; and much more, if it be in defence of the *Publique*. *Buchanad* Seconds him, and would have him rewarded for it, as if he had kill'd a *Wolf* or a *Bear*. For (says he, in his *de jure Regni*) the People are as much above the King, as he is above any one Person. Which Our *Jesuits* have Tranilated into *Singulis Major, Universis Minor*. Does not our *Assembly* set up for *Infalible*, as well as the *Pope*. And have not Our *Jesuites* their pious *Frauds* as well as those of the Church of *Rome* ; their *Dreams*, *Visions* and *Revelations* ? Where was there ever more *Equivocation*, or mental *Reservati-on*, then in their swearing to preserve the King, with a Design to destroy him ? Where did the *Pope* himself ever take more upon him, as to the *Indicting* of *Assemblies*, *abrogating* *Acts* of *Parliament*, and in the *Exercise* of all other the *Ensigns* of *Royalty* ? Does not our *Assembly* expect to be submitted to with as *implicite* a *Faith*, and as *blind* an *Obedience* as the *Pope* himself ? We must cesign up our *Judgments* (says the Church of *Rome*) our *Vill*, and our *Understanding* in a *deference* to our *Superiors*. To which purpose (as I find it in *Lyssimachus Neanor* page 48.) *Andrew Cant* when he found he could give no reasons for subscribing the *Covenant*, told his *Congregation* at *Glasgow*, that they must deny *Learning* and *Reason*, and help *Christ* at a *Loss* : and told them further, upon the same occasion, that he was sent to them with a *Commission* from *Christ* to bid them subscribe the *Covenant*, which was *Christ's Contract*, and that he himself was come as a *Woocer* to them for the *Bridegroom* ; and called upon them to come to be *Hand-fast*ed by *Subscribing* That *Contract* : and told them plainly, that he would not leave the *Town* till he had all their *Names* that refused to *Subscribe*, and that he would complain on't to his *Master*.

It would be endless to run out the *Parallel* at length, so far as This Argument would carry a man. But this will suffice, I hope, in some measure, for a *Caution*, that while we are running down of One Sort of *Jesuites* we do not *Incorporate* our *Religion* with *Another*.

*The End.*